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# THE WORKS

OF

# BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

VOL. III.

1758–1766

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*Of this Letter-press Edition*

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*No. 511*

G. P. Putnam's Sons

*June, 1887*

# THE COMPLETE WORKS

OF

# BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

INCLUDING

HIS PRIVATE AS WELL AS HIS OFFICIAL AND SCIENTIFIC CORRESPONDENCE, AND NUMEROUS LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PRINTED, WITH MANY OTHERS NOT INCLUDED IN ANY FORMER COLLECTION

ALSO

THE UNMUTILATED AND CORRECT VERSION OF HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

COMPILED AND EDITED

BY

JOHN BIGELOW

"Strange that Ulysses does a thousand things so well."—ILIAD, B. II, 335

VOL. III.

WALTER ASHBURNER FIRENZE

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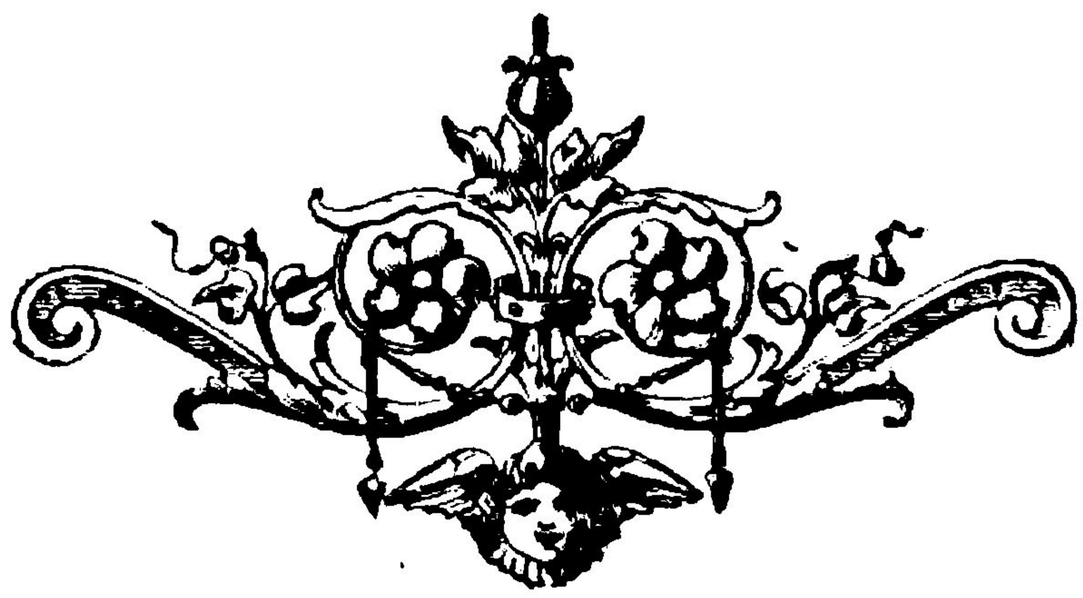

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# CLXVII.

## TO JOHN PRINGLE.

CRAVEN STREET, 6 January, 1758.

SIR:—I return you Mr. Mitchell's paper on the strata of the earth, with thanks. The reading of it, and perusal of the draft that accompanies it, have reconciled me to those convulsions which all naturalists agree this globe has suffered. Had the different strata of clay, gravel, marble, coals, limestone, sand, minerals, &c., continued to lie level, one under the other, as they may be supposed to have done before those convulsions, we should have had the use only of a few of the uppermost of the strata, the others lying too deep and too difficult to be come at; but, the shell of the earth being broke, and the fragments thrown into this oblique position, the disjointed ends of a great number of strata of different kinds are brought up to day, and a great variety of useful materials put into our power, which would otherwise have remained eternally concealed from us. So that what has been usually looked upon as a *ruin* suffered by this part of the universe, was, in reality, only a preparation, or means of rendering the earth more fit for use, more capable of being to mankind a convenient and comfortable habitation.

I am, Sir, with great esteem, yours, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

# CLXVIII.

## TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 14 January, 1758.

DEAR DEBBY :—I wrote a very long letter to you lately, two whole sheets full, containing answers to all yours received during my sickness. I have since received your kind favors of November 13th and 16th. It has given me great concern, that you should be so disappointed in having no letters by Captain Lutwidge. You know by this time how it happened; but I wonder you should expect letters from me by the way of Ireland, it being quite out of my knowledge when vessels are to sail from thence.

I am thankful to God for sparing my little family in that time of general sickness, and hope to find them all well at my return. The New York paper you sent me was the latest that came, and of use to our friend Strahan. He has offered to lay me a considerable wager, that a letter he has wrote to you will bring you immediately over hither; but I tell him I will not pick his pocket; for I am sure there is no inducement strong enough to prevail with you to cross the seas. I should be glad if I could tell you when I expected to be at home, but that is still in the dark; it is possible I may not be able to get away this summer; but I hope, if I stay another winter, it will be more agreeable than the greatest part of the time I have hitherto spent in England. But, however, I must bring my business to some conclusion.

I received Sally's letter of November 12th, but can-

not now write to her. I wrote to my friends generally by the last packet, and shall write to them again by a ship of Mr. Ralph's, to sail from here in about a fortnight. I am not yet quite so hearty as before my illness; but I think I am daily stronger and better, so I hope I have had my seasoning; but much writing still disorders me.

My duty to mother, and love to Sally, Debby, Mr. Dunlap, and all friends that inquire after me. I am, my dear child, your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—Billy presents his duty to you and mother, and love to his sister.

---

## CLXIX.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 21 January, 1758.

MY DEAR CHILD:—Mr. Lorimer, a friend who is going over to General Abercromby, to assist him as secretary, called on me just now to acquaint me that he is on the point of setting out. I seize a minute or two just to let you know we are well, that is, I am well, compared to what I have been during a great part of the time since my arrival, and I hope with the spring to recover my full strength. Billy is quite hearty, and presents his duty, love, &c.

I have wrote to you by several opportunities lately, and particularly one long letter of two sheets, which I hope will come to hand, as it contained a full an-

swer to a number of yours received during my illness, and I have no copy of it.

I begin to think I shall hardly be able to return before this time twelve months. I am for doing effectually what I came about; and I find it requires both time and patience. You may think, perhaps, that I can find many amusements here to pass the time agreeably. It is true, the regard and friendship I meet with from persons of worth, and the conversation of ingenious men, give me no small pleasure; but, at this time of life, domestic comforts afford the most solid satisfaction, and my uneasiness at being absent from my family, and longing desire to be with them, make me often sigh in the midst of cheerful company.

My love to my dear Sally. I confide in you the care of her and her education. I promise myself the pleasure of finding her much improved at my return. While I am writing, three letters came in, one from Mr. Hall, one from Mr. Rhoads, another from Dr. Bond, but none from you. They are by way of Bristol. I must send this away immediately, lest Mr. Lorimer should be gone. My respects to those gentlemen, to whom I shall write, and to my other friends, by Mr. Ralph's vessel, which sails next week. I am your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—When you write to Boston, give my love to sister Jenny, as I have not often time to write to her. If you please, you may send her the enclosed little picture.

# CLXX.

## TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 19 February, 1758.

MY DEAR CHILD :—I have wrote you several long letters lately; the last was by Mr. Ralph, and at the same time I wrote to my dear Sally. Last night I received yours of the 1st and 6th of January, which gave me the great pleasure of hearing that you and my little family were well. I hope you continue so, and that I shall have the happiness to find you so. The letter you mention to have sent me by Captain Robinson is not come to hand; but that by Mr. Hunt I received and answered.

I regret the loss of my friend Parsons. Death begins to make breaches in the little junto of old friends that he had long forborne, and it must be expected he will now soon pick us all off one after another.

Your kind advice about getting a chariot, I had taken some time before; for I found that every time I walked out I got a fresh cold; and the hackney coaches at this end of the town, where most people keep their own, are the worst in the whole city, miserable, dirty, broken, shabby things, unfit to go into when dressed clean, and such as one would be ashamed to get out of at any gentleman's door. As to burning wood, it would answer no end, unless one would furnish all one's neighbours and the whole city with the same. The whole town is one great smoky house, and every street a chimney, the air full of floating seacoal soot, and you never get a sweet breath of what

is pure, without riding some miles for it into the country.

I am sorry to hear that a storm has damaged a house of my good friend Mr. Bartram. Acquaint him that I have received the seeds, and shall write to him shortly. I hope the Speaker is recovered of the illness you mention.

Give my thanks to Dr. Bond for the care he takes of you. I have wrote to him by this vessel. Mr. Hunter and Polly talk of returning this spring. He is wonderfully recruited. They both desire to be remembered to you. She received your letter and answered it. Her answer I enclosed in one of mine to you. Her daughter Rachel, who plays on the harpsichord and sings prettily, sends Sally one of her songs that I fancied.

I send you by Captain Budden a large case and a small box. In the large case is another small box, containing some English china, viz.: melons and leaves for a desert of fruit and cream, or the like; a bowl remarkable for the neatness of the figures, made at Bow, near this city; some coffee cups of the same; a Worcester bowl, ordinary. To show the difference of workmanship, there is something from all the china works in England; and one old true china basin mended, of an odd color. The same box contains four silver salt ladles, newest, but ugliest, fashion; a little instrument to core apples; another to make little turnips out of great ones; six coarse diaper breakfast cloths; they are to spread on the tea table, for nobody breakfasts here on the naked table, but on the

cloth they set a large tea board with the cups. There is also a little basket, a present from Mrs. Stevenson to Sally, and a pair of garters for you, which were knit by the young lady, her daughter, who favored me with a pair of the same kind, the only ones I have been able to wear, as they need not be bound tight, the ridges in them preventing their slipping. We send them therefore as a curiosity for the form, more than for the value. Goody Smith may, if she pleases, make such for me hereafter. My love to her.

In the great case, besides the little box, is contained some carpeting for a best room floor. There is enough for one large or two small ones; it is to be sewed together, the edges being first felled down, and care taken to make the figures meet exactly; there is bordering for the same. This was my fancy. Also two large fine Flanders bedticks, and two pair of large superfine blankets, two fine damask tablecloths and napkins, and forty-three ells of Ghentish sheeting Holland. These you ordered. There are also fifty-six yards of cotton, printed curiously from copper plates, a new invention, to make bed and window curtains; and seven yards of chair bottoms, printed in the same way, very neat. These were my fancy; but Mrs. Stevenson tells me I did wrong not to buy both of the same color. Also seven yards of printed cotton, blue ground, to make you a gown. I bought it by candlelight, and liked it then, but not so well afterwards. If you do not fancy it, send it as a present from me to sister Jenny. There is a better gown for you, of flowered tissue, sixteen yards, of

Mrs. Stevenson's fancy, cost nine guineas; and I think it a great beauty. There was no more of the sort, or you should have had enough for a *negligée* or suit.

There are also snuffers, a snuffstand, and extinguisher, of steel, which I send for the beauty of the work. The extinguisher is for spermaceti candles only, and is of a new contrivance, to preserve the snuff upon the candle. There is some music Billy bought for his sister, and some pamphlets for the Speaker and for Susy Wright. A mahogany and a little shagreen box, with microscopes and other optical instruments loose, are for Mr. Alison, if he likes them; if not, put them in my room till I return. I send the invoice of them, and I wrote to him formerly the reason of my exceeding his orders. There are also two sets of books, a present from me to Sally, *The World* and *The Connoisseur*. My love to her.

I forgot to mention another of my fancyings, viz., a pair of silk blankets, very fine. They are of a new kind, were just taken in a French prize, and such were never seen in England before. They are called blankets, but I think they will be very neat to cover a summer bed, instead of a quilt or counterpane. I had no choice, so you will excuse the soil on some of the folds; your neighbour Foster can get it off. I also forgot, among the china, to mention a large fine jug for beer, to stand in the cooler. I fell in love with it at first sight; for I thought it looked like a fat jolly dame clean and tidy, with a neat blue and

white calico gown on, good natured and lovely, and put me in mind of—somebody. It has the coffee cups in it, packed in best crystal salt, of a peculiar nice flavor, for the table, not to be powdered.

I hope Sally applies herself closely to her French and music, and that I shall find she has made great proficiency. The harpsichord I was about, and which was to have cost me forty guineas, Mr. Stanley advises me not to buy; and we are looking out for another, one that has been some time in use, and is a tried good one, there being not so much dependence on a new one, though made by the best hands. Sally's last letter to her brother is the best wrote that of late I have seen of hers. I only wish she was a little more careful of her spelling. I hope she continues to love going to church, and would have her read over and over again *The Whole Duty of Man*, and *The Lady's Library*.

Look at the figures on the china bowl and coffee cups, with your spectacles on; they will bear examining.

I have made your compliments to Mrs. Stevenson. She is indeed very obliging, takes great care of my health, and is very diligent when I am any way indisposed; but yet I have a thousand times wished you with me, and my little Sally with her ready hands and feet to do, and go, and come, and get what I wanted. There is a great difference in sickness between being nursed with that tender attention which proceeds from sincere love, and——[1]

[1] The remainder of the letter is lost.

# CLXXI.

## TO THOMAS HUBBARD, AT BOSTON.

LONDON, 28 April, 1758.

SIR :—In pursuance of Mr. Winthrop's memorandum, which I lately received from you, through the hands of Mr. Mico, I have procured and delivered to him the following things, viz. :

A mahogany case lined with lead, containing thirty-five square glass bottles, in five rows, seven in a row.

A glass globe of the same size and kind with that I used at Philadelphia, and mounted in the same manner.

A large glass cylinder, mounted on an iron axis with brass caps ; this form being most used here, and thought better than the globe, as a long narrow cushion will electrify a greater surface at the same time.

The bottles have necks, which I think better than to be quite open ; for so they would either be exposed to the dust and damp of the air, if they had no stoppers, or the stoppers would be too near together to admit of electrifying a single bottle, or row of bottles ; there is only a little more difficulty in lining the inside with tinfoil, but that is chiefly got over by cutting it into narrow strips, and guiding them in with a stick flat at one end, to apply the more conveniently to the pasted side of the glass. I would have coated them myself, if the time had not been too short. I send the tinfoil, which I got made of a proper breadth for the purpose; they should be

coated nine inches high, which brings the coating just even with the edge of the case. The tinfoil is ten inches broad, which allows for lapping over the bottom.

I have bored the holes in all the stoppers for the communicating wires, provided all the wires, and fixed one or two to show the manner. Each wire, to go into a bottle, is bent so that the two ends go in and spring against the inside coating or lining. The middle of the wire goes up into the stopper, with an eye, through which the long communicating wires pass, that connect all the bottles in one row.

To form occasional communications with more rows, there must be, on the long wires of the second and fourth rows, four other movable wires, which I call cross-wires, about two inches and a half long, with a small ball of any metal about the size of a pistol-bullet at each end. The ball of one end is to have a hole through the middle, so that it may be slipped on the long wire; and one of these cross-wires is to be placed between the third and fourth bottles of the row at each end; and on each of the above-mentioned rows, that is, two to each row, they must be made to turn easy on the wires, so that when you would charge only the middle row, you turn two of them back on the first, and two on the fifth row, then the middle row will be unconnected with the others. When you would charge more rows, you turn them forwards or backwards, so as to have the communication completed with just the number of rows you want.

The brass handles of the case communicate with the outside of the bottles, when you wish to make the electrical circuit.

I see, now I have wrote it, that the greatest part of this letter would have been more properly addressed to Mr. Winthrop himself [1]; but probably you will send it to him with the things, and that will answer the end. Be pleased to tender my best respects to him and the rest of the gentlemen of the College.

I am, with great esteem and regard, Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I beg the College will do me the favor to accept a Virgil, which I send in the case, thought to be the most curiously printed of any book hitherto done in the world.[2]

## CLXXII.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 10 June, 1758.

MY DEAR CHILD :—I was down at Cambridge with Billy when Snead sailed, so I did not write again by him as I intended. His sailing so soon was unexpected to me. I am somewhat out of the way of vessels, and Mr. Partridge, by mistake, wrote me Snead

[1] At that time Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University, for which institution the electrical apparatus described in this letter was designed.—S.

[2] A copy of Baskerville's quarto edition of Virgil, printed the year before at Birmingham, and perhaps the most beautiful of the various works by which this celebrated type-founder and printer gained the praise of "uniting, in a singularly happy manner, the elegance of Plantin with the clearness of the Elzevirs."—S.

was not to sail that week; so, being very kindly entertained there in the colleges, we did not hurry so soon home as we might have done. However, this vessel perhaps may be there about the same time.

I think nobody ever had more faithful correspondents than I have in Mr. Hughes and you. It is impossible for me to get or keep out of your debts. I received the bill of exchange you got of Mr. Nelson, and it is paid. I received also the Proprietary's account. It gives me concern to receive such frequent accounts of your being indisposed; but we both of us grow in years, and must expect our constitutions, though tolerably good in themselves, will by degrees give way to the infirmities of age.

I have sent, in a trunk of the Library Company's, some of the best writing paper for letters, and best quills and wax, all for Mrs. Moore, which I beg she would accept; having received such civilities here from her sister and brother Scott as are not in my power to return. I shall send some to Sally by the next opportunity. By Captain Lutwidge I sent my dear girl a newest fashioned white hat and cloak, and sundry little things, which I hope will get safe to hand. I now send her a pair of buckles, made of French paste stones, which are next in lustre to diamonds. They cost three guineas, and are said to be cheap at that price. I fancy I see more likeness in her picture than I did at first, and I look at it often with pleasure, as at least it reminds me of her. Yours is at the painter's, who is to copy it and do me of the same size; but, as to family pieces, it is said they never

look well, and are quite out of fashion, and I find the limner very unwilling to undertake any thing of the kind. However, when Franky's comes, and that of Sally by young Hesselius, I shall see what can be done. I wonder how you came by Ben Lay's picture.

You are very prudent not to engage in party disputes. Women never should meddle with them, except in endeavours to reconcile their husbands, brothers, and friends, who happen to be of contrary sides. If your sex keep cool, you may be a means of cooling ours the sooner, and restoring more speedily that social harmony among fellow-citizens that is so desirable after long and bitter dissensions.

Cousin Dunlap[1] has wrote me an account of his purchasing Chattin's printing-house. I wish it may be advantageous to him without injuring Mr. Hall. I can however do nothing to encourage him, as a printer in Philadelphia, inconsistent with my preëngagement to so faithful a partner. And I trust you will take care not to do any thing in that way that may draw reflections on me; as if I did underhand, through your means, what I would not care to appear in openly. I hope he will keep a good understanding with Mr. Hall, and I am pleased to hear that he asked his advice and friendship; but I have thought it right and necessary to forbid the use of my letters by Mr. Dunlap without Mr. Hall's consent. The post-office, if it is agreeable to you, may be removed to Mr. Dunlap's house, it being proposed by our good friend Mr. Hughes.

[1] William Dunlap, an Irish printer married to a relative of his wife.

I wrote to you lately to speak to Ambruster[1] not to make use of my name any more in his newspaper, as I have no particular concern in it, but as one of the trustees only. I have no prospect of returning until next spring, so you will not expect me. But pray remember to make me as happy as you can, by sending some pippins for myself and friends, some of your small hams, and some cranberries.

Billy is of the Middle Temple, and will be called to the bar either this term or the next. I write this in answer to your particular inquiry. I am glad you like the cloak I sent you. The black silk was sent by our friend Mr. Collinson. I never saw it. Your answer to Mr. Strahan was just what it should be. I was much pleased with it. He fancied his rhetoric and art would certainly bring you over.

I have ordered two large print Common Prayer Books to be bound, on purpose for you and Goody Smith; and, that the largeness of the print may not make them too bulky, the christenings, matrimonies, and every thing else that you and she have not immediate and constant occasion for, are to be omitted. So you will both of you be reprieved from the use of spectacles in church a little longer.

If the ringing of the bells frightens you, tie a piece of wire from one bell to the other, and that will conduct the lightning without ringing or snapping, but silently; though I think it best the bells should be at liberty to ring, that you may know when they are

[1] Anthony Ambruster, a German by birth, who printed German books in Philadelphia, and for some time published a newspaper there in the German language.

electrified; and when you are afraid you may keep at a distance.[1] I wrote last winter to Josey Crocker to come over hither and stay a year, and work in some of the best shops for improvement in his business, and therefore did not send the tools; but if he is about to be married I would not advise him to come. I shall send the tools immediately. You have disposed of the apple-trees very properly. I condole with you on the loss of your walnuts.

I see the governor's treatment of his wife makes all the ladies angry. If it is on account of the bad example, that will soon be removed; for the Proprietors are privately looking out for another; being determined to discard him, and the place goes a begging. One, to whom it was offered, sent a friend to make some inquiries of me. The Proprietors told him they had there a city-house and a country-house, which he might use rent free; that every thing was so cheap he might live on five hundred pounds sterling a year, keep a genteel table, a coach, &c., and his income would be at least nine hundred pounds. If it fell short of that, the Proprietors would engage to make it up. For the truth of his being able to live genteelly and keep a coach for five hundred pounds a year, the Proprietors referred him to Mr. Hamilton, who, it seems, told him the same story; but, on inquiry of Mr. Morris, he had quite a different account, and knew not which to believe. The

[1] In the year 1753 he had erected an iron rod for the purpose of drawing lightning from the clouds into his house. He also placed two bells in such position that they would ring when the rod was electrified. See description of this contrivance in vol. i., in a letter to Peter Collinson, dated September, 1753.

gentleman is one Mr. Graves, a lawyer of the Temple. He hesitated a good while, and I am now told has declined accepting it. I wish that may not be true, for he has the character of being a very good sort of man; though, while the instructions continue, it matters little who is our governor. It was to have been kept a secret from me, that the Proprietors were looking out for a new one; because they would not have Mr. Denny know any thing about it, till the appointment was actually made, and the gentleman ready to embark. So you may make a secret of it too, if you please, and oblige all your friends with it.[1]

[1] The Proprietors were dissatisfied with Governor Denny, and resolved to remove him. The negotiation with Mr. Graves having failed, the post was next offered to James Hamilton, a native of Philadelphia, who had been governor a few years before, and who was at this time in London. He took an independent ground with the Proprietors, and seems to have had some difficulty in arranging certain points to their mutual satisfaction, especially in what related to the long-disputed question as to taxing the proprietary estates. This is evident from the following extract from a letter, which he wrote in London to Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietors, August 21, 1759, while the negotiation was pending:

"I am sorry," said he, "that this treaty about the government has been drawn out to so inconvenient a length. Everybody knows I did not solicit my appointment to it; nor have I varied the terms, on which I professed to engage in it, one iota from the beginning. Those terms were, *that I would not be restrained from giving my assent to any reasonable bill for taxing the proprietary estates in common with all the other estates in the province*, because in my opinion it was not more than just that it should be so. If you have changed your sentiments with regard to this matter, which for a long time I looked upon to be the same as mine, it will give me no pain on my own account. Every thing that respects me may drop silently, as if it had never been moved. Only, for saving your time and my own, I think it incumbent on me to declare, as I have frequently done, that I cannot think of engaging myself in that service, but upon the terms or conditions above mentioned."

Mr. Hamilton was appointed governor, and he returned soon afterwards to Pennsylvania. The reluctance of the Proprietors to have their lands taxed by the Assembly was not easily overcome, as clearly appears from their instructions to the governor on this head. They express a willingness to aid in the defence of the province by suitable contributions, but claim the privilege of doing it in such manner as their judgment shall dictate, and deny all right in the Assembly to impose a tax on their property in the province for any object whatever. "Wherefore," they add, "we recommend to you to use the most prudent means in your power, *to avoid and prevent the Assembly from including any part of*

I need not tell you to assist godmother in her difficulties; for I know you will think it as agreeable to me as it is to your own good disposition. I could not find the bit of thread you mention to have sent me, of your own spinning. Perhaps it was too fine to be seen. I am glad little Franky begins to talk. It will divert you to have him often with you.

I think I have now gone through your letters, which always give me great pleasure to receive and read, since I cannot be with you in person. Distribute my compliments, respects, and love among my friends, and believe me ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—Mrs. Stevenson and her daughter desire me to present their compliments and offer their services to you and Sally. I think of going into the country

*our estate in the said province in any tax to be by them raised.* But, in case the exigency of the times, the King's immediate service, and the defence of the province cannot be provided for, unless our estate shall be included in any bill for raising taxes for such services; then we do, notwithstanding our general dislike of the same, permit you to give your assent to such a bill, as shall impose a tax *on our rents and quitrents only*, but not on our vacant lands, whether appropriated or not, nor on any fines or purchase money pretended or supposed to be due to us, which, we are well advised, are not in their nature liable to taxation; always provided, as our rents and quitrents are clear and certain in their amount, that proper and reasonable clauses be inserted in every such bill, for rendering as clear and as certain as possible the true value of all other persons' estates, that we may not be taxed beyond our true proportion with respect to others. And provided also, that *our respective tenants be obliged to pay the same*, and to deduct the same out of our rents, when they account to us or our receiver, and not to pretend to authorize the sale of any of our lands for non-payment of taxes."

Clogged with such instructions, although the point of taxation was yielded to a certain extent, Mr. Hamilton could hardly hope to satisfy the Assembly or the people, who believed and contended, that, for all the purposes of defence, the property of the Proprietors in the province, of whatever kind or however situated, was justly liable to be taxed in the same proportion, and in the same manner, as their own; nor indeed do the instructions seem to accord fully with Mr. Hamilton's view of the subject, as expressed in his letter to Mr. Penn.—SPARKS.

soon, and shall be pretty much out this summer, in different parts of England. I depend chiefly on these journeys for the establishment of my health.

## CLXXIII.

### TO THE SPEAKER AND COMMITTEE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY.

LONDON, 10 June, 1758.

GENTLEMEN:—In mine of May 13th I gave you a particular account of the hearing before the Attorney and Solicitor General, on a reference of Smith's petition. They have not yet made their report, and would now, I hear, excuse themselves from doing it as unnecessary, since they have heard that the prisoners are discharged. But they are still solicited by Mr. Penn and Mr. Moore to report, on an allegation that they have letters advising that warrants are issued for taking them up again. None of my letters from Pennsylvania mentions any thing of this. I have ventured to say I doubt the truth of it. Whether they will report or not is uncertain; but if they should report against us, I am determined to dispute the matter again before the Council.

I send you herewith a copy of the note I furnished our solicitor with, when drawing his brief; a copy of the brief itself; a copy of some remarks on the reflection thrown upon the Assembly by the Council at the first hearing, as being Quakers and therefore against defence, and as bearing malice against Smith because a clergyman of the Church of England, and against

Moore because he petitioned for defence. These I gave to our counsel before the second hearing, when they were to speak, and they made good use of them. I furnished also a number of cases from the votes of Assemblies in the other colonies, showing that they all claimed and exercised power of committing for breach of privilege; but of this paper of cases I have no copy by me.[1]

Mr. Charles at my request has drawn the state of the case, in order to obtain opinions of eminent lawyers how far our present privileges would be affected in case of a change of government, by our coming immediately under the crown. I send you a copy of this case, with the opinion of our counsel upon it, who is esteemed the best acquainted with our American affairs and constitutions, as well as with government law in general. He being also thoroughly knowing in the present views of the Board of Trade, and in their connexions and characters, has given me withal, as a friend, some prudential advice in a separate sheet distinct from his law opinion, because the law opinion

[1] Petitions had been sent to the Assembly, charging William Moore, president of the Court of Common Pleas in Chester County, with misconduct in his office. Moore was summoned to appear before the House, which he refused to do. The House found him guilty, however, and requested the governor to remove him from office. This was declined by the governor, till he should investigate the case; and in the meantime Moore published a defence containing language which the Assembly voted to be slanderous and insulting. It appeared in evidence also, that William Smith, provost of the College, had been concerned in revising and correcting this piece before it was published. Smith was then arrested, and both he and Moore were imprisoned. The public was much agitated by the controversy. The governor took the part of the accused. Smith and Moore ultimately appealed to the King in Council, where it was decided that the Assembly had transcended their powers, and that their conduct was reprehensible. A summary of the case is contained in Gordon's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 352.—EDITOR.

might necessarily appear where he would not care the advice should be seen. I send you, also, a copy of this, and should be glad of your sentiments upon it. One thing that he recommends to be done before we push our point in Parliament, is *removing the prejudices that art and accident have spread among the people of this country against us, and obtaining for us the good opinion of the bulk of mankind without doors.* This I hope we have it in our power to do, by means of a work now nearly ready for the press, calculated to engage the attention of many readers, and at the same time to efface the bad impressions received of us; but it is thought best not to publish it till a little before the next session of Parliament.[1]

The Proprietors are determined to discard their present governor, as soon as they can find a successor to their mind. They have lately offered the government to one Mr. Graves, a gentleman of the Temple, who has had it for some time under consideration, and makes a difficulty of accepting it. The beginning of the week it was thought he would accept; but on Thursday night I was told he had resolved to refuse it. I know not, however, whether he may not yet be prevailed on. He has the character of a man of good understanding and good dispositions,—[*incomplete*].

[1] The work here alluded to is undoubtedly the "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania," which was first published in the year 1759. See letter to David Hume, under date of September 27, 1760.

# CLXXIV.

## TO JOHN LINING, AT CHARLESTON.

LONDON, 17 June, 1758.

DEAR SIR:—In a former letter I mentioned the experiment for cooling bodies by evaporation, and that I had, by repeatedly wetting the thermometer with common spirits, brought the mercury down five or six degrees. Being lately at Cambridge, and mentioning this in conversation with Dr. Hadley, professor of chemistry there, he proposed repeating the experiments with ether, instead of common spirits, as the ether is much quicker in evaporation. We accordingly went to his chamber, where he had both ether and a thermometer. By dipping first the ball of the thermometer into the ether, it appeared that the ether was precisely of the same temperament with the thermometer, which stood then at 65; for it made no alteration in the height of the little column of mercury. But when the thermometer was taken out of the ether, and the ether, with which the ball was wet, began to evaporate, the mercury sunk several degrees. The wetting was then repeated by a feather that had been dipped into the ether, when the mercury sunk still lower.

We continued this operation, one of us wetting the ball, and another of the company blowing on it with the bellows to quicken the evaporation, the mercury sinking all the time, till it came down to 7, which is 25 degrees below the freezing point, when we left off. Soon after it passed the freezing point a thin

coat of ice began to cover the ball. Whether this was water collected and condensed by the coldness of the ball from the moisture in the air or from our breath; or whether the feather, when dipped into the ether, might not sometimes go through it and bring up some of the water that was under it, I am not certain; perhaps all might contribute. The ice continued increasing till we ended the experiment, when it appeared near a quarter of an inch thick all over the ball, with a number of small *spicula*, pointing outwards. From this experiment one may see the possibility of freezing a man to death on a warm summer's day, if he were to stand in a passage through which the wind blew briskly, and to be wet frequently with ether, a spirit that is more inflammable than brandy or common spirits of wine.

It is but within these few years that the European philosophers seem to have known this power in nature, of cooling bodies by evaporation. But in the east they have long been acquainted with it. A friend tells me there is a passage in Bernier's *Travels through Indostan*, written near one hundred years ago, that mentions it as a practice (in travelling over dry deserts in that hot climate) to carry water in flasks wrapped in wet woollen cloths, and hung on the shady side of the camel, or carriage, but in the free air; whereby, as the cloths gradually grow drier, the water contained in the flasks is made cool. They have likewise a kind of earthen pots, unglazed, which let the water gradually and slowly ooze through their pores, so as to keep the outside a little wet, notwith-

standing the continual evaporation, which gives great coldness to the vessel and the water contained in it. Even our common sailors seem to have had some notion of this property; for I remember that, being at sea when I was a youth, I observed one of the sailors, during a calm in the night, often wetting his finger in his mouth, and then holding it up in the air, to discover, as he said, if the air had any motion, and from which side it came; and this he expected to do by finding one side of his finger grow suddenly cold, and from that side he should look for the next wind; which I then laughed at as a fancy.

May not several phenomena hitherto unconsidered or unaccounted for be explained by this property? During the hot Sunday at Philadelphia, in June, 1750, when the thermometer was up at 100 in the shade, I sat in my chamber without exercise, only reading or writing, with no other clothes on than a shirt and a pair of long linen drawers, the windows all open, and a brisk wind blowing through the house; the sweat ran off the backs of my hands, and my shirt was often so wet as to induce me to call for dry ones to put on. In this situation, one might have suspected that the natural heat of the body, 96, added to the heat of the air, 100, should jointly have created or produced a much greater degree of heat in the body; but the fact was that my body never grew so hot as the air that surrounded it, or the inanimate bodies immersed in the same air. For I remember well that the desk, when I laid my arm upon it; a chair, when I sat down in it; and a dry shirt out of

the drawer, when I put it on—all felt exceeding warm to me, as if they had been warmed before a fire. And I suppose a dead body would have acquired the temperature of the air, though a living one, by continual sweating, and by the evaporation of that sweat, was kept cold.

May not this be a reason why our reapers in Pennsylvania, working in the open field in the clear hot sunshine common in our harvest-time,[1] find themselves well able to go through that labor without being much incommoded by the heat, while they continue to sweat, and while they supply matter for keeping up that sweat, by drinking frequently of a thin evaporable liquor, water mixed with rum; but, if the sweat stops, they drop, and sometimes die suddenly, if a sweating is not again brought on by drinking that liquor, or, as some rather choose in that case, a kind of hot punch, made with water, mixed with honey, and a considerable proportion of vinegar? May there not be in negroes a quicker evaporation of the perspirable matter from their skins and lungs, which, by cooling them more, enables them to bear the sun's heat better than whites do? (if that is a fact, as it is said to be; for the alleged necessity of having negroes rather than whites to work in the West India fields is founded upon it,) though the color of their skins would otherwise make them more sensible of the sun's heat, since black cloth heats much sooner

[1] Pennsylvania is in about lat. 40, and the sun, of course, about 12 degrees higher, and therefore much hotter, than in England. Their harvest is about the end of June or beginning of July, when the sun is nearly at the highest.—F.

and more, in the sun, than white cloth. I am persuaded, from several instances happening within my knowledge, that they do not bear cold weather so well as the whites; they will perish when exposed to a less degree of it, and are more apt to have their limbs frost-bitten; and may not this be from the same cause?

Would not the earth grow much hotter under the summer sun if a constant evaporation from its surface, greater as the sun shines stronger, did not, by tending to cool it, balance, in some degree, the warmer effects of the sun's rays? Is it not owing to the constant evaporation from the surface of every leaf, that trees, though shone on by the sun, are always, even the leaves themselves, cool to our sense? at least much cooler than they would otherwise be? May it not be owing to this that, fanning ourselves when warm, does really cool us, though the air is itself warm that we drive with the fan upon our faces? For the atmosphere round and next to our bodies, having imbibed as much of the perspired vapor as it can well contain, receives no more, and the evaporation is therefore checked and retarded till we drive away that atmosphere, and bring drier air in its place, that will receive the vapor, and thereby facilitate and increase the evaporation. Certain it is that mere blowing of air on a dry body does not cool it, as any one may satisfy himself by blowing with a bellows on the dry ball of a thermometer; the mercury will not fall; if it moves at all, it rather rises, as being warmed by the friction of the air on its surface.

To these queries of imagination I will only add one practical observation,—that wherever it is thought proper to give ease in cases of painful inflammation in the flesh (as from burnings or the like) by cooling the part, linen cloths wet with spirit, and applied to the part inflamed, will produce the coolness required, better than if wet with water, and will continue it longer. For water, though cold when first applied, will soon acquire warmth from the flesh, as it does not evaporate fast enough; but the cloths wet with spirit will continue cold as long as any spirit is left to keep up the evaporation, the parts warmed escaping as soon as they are warmed, and carrying off the heat with them. I am, Sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CLXXV.

### TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 6 September, 1758.

MY DEAR CHILD:—In mine of June 10th, by the Mercury, Captain Robinson, I mentioned our having been at Cambridge. We stayed there a week, being entertained with great kindness by the principal people, and shown all the curiosities of the place; and returning by another road to see more of the country, we came again to London. I found the journey advantageous to my health, increasing both my health and spirits, and therefore, as all the great folks were out of town, and public business at a stand, I the more easily prevailed with myself to take another

journey, and accept of the invitation we had, to be again at Cambridge at the Commencement, the beginning of July. We went accordingly, were present at all the ceremonies, dined every day in their halls, and my vanity was not a little gratified by the particular regard shown me by the chancellor and vice-chancellor of the University and the heads of colleges.

Hardy After the Commencement we went from Cambridge through Huntingdonshire into Northumberlandshire, and at Wellingborough, on inquiry, we found still living Mary Fisher, whose maiden name was Franklin, daughter and only child of Thomas Franklin, my father's eldest brother. She is five years older than sister Dowse, and remembers her going away with my father and his then wife and two other children to New England, about the year 1685. We have had no correspondence with her since my uncle Benjamin's death, now near thirty years. I knew she had lived at Wellingborough, and had married there to one Mr. Richard Fisher, a grazier and tanner, about fifty years ago, but did not expect to see either of them alive, so inquired for their posterity. I was directed to their house, and we found them both alive, but weak with age, very glad however to see us. She seems to have been a very smart, sensible woman. They are wealthy, have left off business, and live comfortably. They have had only one child, a daughter, who died when about thirty years of age, unmarried. She gave me several of my uncle Benjamin's letters to her, and acquainted me where the other remains of the family lived, of which I have,

since my return to London, found out a daughter of my father's only sister, very old, and never married. She is a good, clever woman, but poor, though vastly contented with her situation, and very cheerful. The others are in different parts of the country. I intend to visit them, but they were too much out of our tour in that journey.

From Wellingborough we went to Ecton, about three or four miles, being the village where my father was born, and where his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had lived, and how many of the family before them we know not. We went first to see the old house and grounds; they came to Mr. Fisher with his wife, and after letting them for some years, finding his rent something ill paid, he sold them. The land is now added to another farm, and a school kept in the house. It is a decayed old stone building, but still known by the name of Franklin House. Thence we went to visit the rector of the parish, who lives close by the church, a very ancient building. He entertained us very kindly, and showed us the old church register, in which were the births, marriages, and burials of our ancestors for two hundred years, as early as his book began. His wife, a good-natured, chatty old lady (granddaughter of the famous Archdeacon Palmer, who formerly had that parish, and lived there), remembered a great deal about the family; carried us out into the churchyard, and showed us several of their gravestones, which were so covered with moss that we could not read the letters, till she ordered a hard brush and basin of

water, with which Peter scoured them clean, and then Billy copied them. She entertained and diverted us highly with stories of Thomas Franklin, Mrs. Fisher's father, who was a conveyancer, something of a lawyer, clerk of the county courts, and clerk to the Archdeacon in his visitations; a very leading man in all county affairs, and much employed in public business. He set on foot a subscription for erecting chimes in their steeple, and completed it, and we heard them play. He found out an easy method of saving their village meadows from being drowned, as they used to be sometimes by the river, which method is still in being; but, when first proposed, nobody could conceive how it could be; "but, however," they said, "if Franklin says he knows how to do it, it will be done." His advice and opinion were sought for on all occasions by all sorts of people, and he was looked upon, she said, by some as something of a conjurer. He died just four years before I was born, on the same day of the same month.

Since our return to London, I have had a kind letter from cousin Fisher, and another from the rector, which I send you.

From Ecton we went to Northampton, where we stayed part of the day; then went to Coventry, and from thence to Birmingham. Here, upon inquiry, we soon found out yours, and cousin Wilkinson's, and cousin Cash's relations. First, we found out one of the Cashes, and he went with us to Rebecca Flint's, where we saw her and her husband. She is a turner and he a buttonmaker; they have no children; were

very glad to see any person that knew their sister Wilkinson; told us what letters they had received, and showed us some of them; and even showed us that they had, out of respect, preserved a keg, in which they had received a present of some sturgeon. They sent for their brother, Joshua North, who came with his wife immediately to see us; he is a turner also, and has six children; a lively, active man. Mrs. Flint desired me to tell her sister, that they live still in the old house she left them in, which I think she says was their father's. From thence Mr. North went with us to your cousin Benjamin's.[1]

## CLXXVI.

### TO HUGH ROBERTS.

LONDON, 16 September, 1758.

DEAR FRIEND:—Your kind letter of June 1st gave me great pleasure. I thank you for the concern you express about my health, which at present seems tolerably confirmed by my late journey into different parts of the kingdom, and have been highly entertaining as well as useful to me. Your visits to my little family in my absence are very obliging, and I hope you will be so good as to continue them. Your remark on the thistle and the Scotch motto made us very merry, as well as your string of puns. You will allow me to claim a little merit or demerit in the last, as having had some hand in making you a punster; but the wit of the first is keen, and all your own.

[1] The remainder of the letter is missing.

Two of the former members of the Junto, you tell me, are departed this life, Potts and Parsons. Odd characters both of them. Parsons a wise man, that often acted foolishly; Potts a wit, that seldom acted wisely. If *enough* were the means to make a man happy, one had always the *means* of happiness, without ever enjoying the *thing;* the other had always the *thing*, without ever possessing the *means.* Parsons, even in his prosperity, always fretting; Potts, in the midst of his poverty, ever laughing. It seems, then, that happiness in this life rather depends on internals than externals; and that, besides the natural effects of wisdom and virtue, vice and folly, there is such a thing as a happy or an unhappy constitution. They were both our friends, and loved us. So, peace to their shades. They had their virtues as well as their foibles; they were both honest men, and that alone, as the world goes, is one of the greatest of characters. They were old acquaintances, in whose company I formerly enjoyed a great deal of pleasure, and I cannot think of losing them without concern and regret.

I shall, as you suppose, look on every opportunity you give me of doing you service, as a favor, because it will afford me pleasure. I know how to make you ample returns for such favors, by giving you the pleasure of building me a house. You may do it without losing any of your own time; it will only take some part of that you now spend in other folks' business. It is only jumping out of their waters into mine.

I am grieved for our friend Syng's loss. You and

I, who esteem him, and have valuable sons ourselves, can sympathize with him sincerely. I hope yours is perfectly recovered, for your sake as well as for his own. I wish he may be, in every respect, as good and as useful as his father. I need not wish him more; and can only add that I am, with great esteem, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I rejoice to hear of the prosperity of the Hospital, and send the wafers. I do not quite like your absenting yourself from that good old club, the Junto. Your more frequent presence might be a means of keeping them from being all engaged in measures not the best for the public welfare. I exhort you, therefore, to return to your duty; and, as the Indians say, to confirm my words, I send you a Birmingham tile. I thought the neatness of the figures would please you.

## CLXXVII.

### TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

LONDON, 16 September, 1758.

DEAR SISTER:—I received your favor of June 17th. I wonder you have had no letter from me since my being in England. I have wrote you at least two, and I think a third before this, and, what was next to waiting on you in person, sent you my picture. In June last I sent Benny a trunk of books, and wrote to him. I hope they are come to hand, and that he meets with encouragement in his business. I con-

gratulate you on the conquest of Cape Breton, and hope, as your people took it by praying the first time, you will now pray that it may never be given up again, which you then forgot. Billy is well, but in the country. I left him at Tunbridge Wells where we spent a fortnight, and he is now gone with some company to see Portsmouth. We have been together over a great part of England this summer, and, among other places, visited the town our father was born in, and found some relations in that part of the country still living.

Our cousin Jane Franklin, daughter of our uncle John, died about a year ago. We saw her husband, Robert Page, who gave us some old letters to his wife from uncle Benjamin. In one of them, dated Boston, July 4, 1723, he writes that your uncle Josiah has a daughter Jane, about twelve years old, a good-humored child. So keep up to your character, and don't be angry when you have no letters. In a little book he sent her, called *None but Christ*, he wrote an acrostic on her name, which for namesake's sake, as well as the good advice it contains, I transcribe and send you, viz.:

"Illuminated from on high,
And shining brightly in your sphere,
Ne'er faint, but keep a steady eye,
Expecting endless pleasures there.

"Flee vice as you 'd a serpent flee;
Raise *faith* and *hope* three stories higher,
And let Christ's endless love to thee
Ne'er cease to make thy love aspire.

Kindness of heart by words express,
Let your obedience be sincere,
In prayer and praise your God address,
Nor cease, till he can cease to hear."

After professing truly that I had a great esteem and veneration for the pious author, permit me a little to play the commentator and critic on these lines. The meaning of *three stories higher* seems somewhat obscure. You are to understand, then, that *faith*, *hope*, and *charity* have been called the three steps of Jacob's ladder, reaching from earth to heaven ; our author calls them *stories*, likening religion to a building, and these are the three stories of the Christian edifice. Thus improvement in religion is called *building up* and *edification*. *Faith* is, then, the ground floor ; *hope* is up one pair of stairs. My dear beloved Jenny, don't delight so much to dwell in those lower rooms, but get as fast as you can into the garret, for in truth the best room in the house is *charity*. For my part, I wish the house was turned upside down ; it is so difficult (when one is fat) to go up stairs ; and not only so, but I imagine *hope* and *faith* may be more firmly built upon *charity*, than *charity* upon *faith* and *hope*. However that may be, I think it the better reading to say—

" Raise faith and hope one story higher."

Correct it boldly, and I 'll support the alteration ; for, when you are up two stories already, if you raise your building three stories higher you will make five in all, which is two more than there should be, you

expose your upper rooms more to the winds and storms; and, besides, I am afraid the foundation will hardly bear them, unless indeed you build with such light stuff as straw and stubble, and that, you know, won't stand fire. Again, where the author says—

"Kindness of heart by words express,"

strike out *words*, and put in *deeds*. The world is too full of compliments already. They are the rank growth of every soil, and choke the good plants of benevolence and beneficence; nor do I pretend to be the first in this comparison of words and actions to plants; you may remember an ancient poet, whose works we have all studied and copied at school long ago:

"A man of words and not of deeds
Is like a garden full of weeds."

It is pity that good works, among some sorts of people, are so little valued, and good words admired in their stead; I mean seemingly pious discourses, instead of humane, benevolent actions. Those they almost put out of countenance, by calling morality *rotten morality*, righteousness *ragged righteousness*, and even filthy rags. So much by way of commentary.

My wife will let you see my letter, containing an account of our travels, which I would have you read to sister Dowse, and give my love to her. I have no thoughts of returning till next year, and then may possibly have the pleasure of seeing you and yours; taking Boston in my way home. My love to brother and all your children, concludes at this time from, dear Jenny, your affectionate brother, B. FRANKLIN.

# CLXXVIII.

## TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

CRAVEN STREET, 4 May, 1759.

MY DEAR CHILD:—Hearing that you were in the Park last Sunday, I hoped for the pleasure of seeing you yesterday at the oratorio in the Foundling Hospital; but, though I looked with all the eyes I had, not excepting even those I carry in my pocket, I could not find you; and this morning your good mamma has received a line from you, by which we learn that you are returned to Wanstead.

It is long since you heard from me, though not a day passes in which I do not think of you with the same affectionate regard and esteem I ever had for you. My not writing is partly owing to an inexcusable indolence, which I find grows upon me as I grow in years, and partly to an expectation I have had, from week to week, of making a little journey into Essex, in which I intended to call at Wanstead, and promised to myself the pleasure of seeing you there. I have now fixed this day se'nnight for that journey, and propose to take Mrs. Stevenson out with me, leave her with you till the next day, and call for her on Saturday in my return. Let me know by a line if you think any thing may make such a visit from us at that time improper or inconvenient. Present my sincerest respects to Mrs. Tickell, and believe me ever, dear Polly, your truly affectionate friend and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—We have company that dine with us to-day,

and your careful mamma, being busied about many things, cannot write. Will did not see you in the Park. Mr. Hunter and his sister are both gone. God prosper their voyage. My compliments to Miss Pitt.

## CLXXIX.

### TO LORD KAMES.[1]

LONDON, 3 January, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD :—You have been pleased kindly to desire to have all my publications. I had daily expectations of procuring some of them from a friend to whom I formerly sent them when I was in America, and postponed writing to you, till I should obtain them ; but at length he tells me he cannot find them ; very mortifying this to an author, that his works should so soon be lost ! So I can only send you my *Observations on the Peopling of Countries*, which happens to have been reprinted here ; *The Description of the Pennsylvania Fire-place*, a machine of my contriving ; and some little sketches that have been

[1] Henry Home, better known by his title of Lord Kames, which he assumed, according to the custom of Scotland, on being appointed in 1752 a judge of the Court of Session. He was born in Berwick County in 1696, and was educated to the profession of the law, in which he became distinguished as an advocate and a judge. But his greatest eminence was derived from his literary productions, which were numerous, and some of them celebrated, particularly his "Elements of Criticism," published in 1762 ; his "Sketches of the History of Man," in 1773 ; and a small work published in 1761, entitled "An Introduction to the Art of Thinking," which was originally compiled for the use of his own children. It is in two parts, the first a series of moral maxims, the second illustrations by little apologues, invented for the purpose ; and anecdotes of different kinds, many of them, however, but little adapted to the end. Dr. Franklin, in a visit to Scotland in 1759, with his son William, passed some time with Lord Kames, and a friendship grew out of their intimacy which lasted during their lives. Lord Kames died December 27, 1782, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.—W. T. F.

printed in the *Grand Magazine*, which I should hardly own, did I not know that your friendly partiality would make them seem at least tolerable.

How unfortunate I was, that I did not press you and Lady Kames more strongly to favor us with your company farther. How much more agreeable would our journey have been, if we could have enjoyed you as far as York. We could have beguiled the way, by discoursing on a thousand things, that now we may never have an opportunity of considering together; for conversation warms the mind, enlivens the imagination, and is continually starting fresh game, that is immediately pursued and taken, and which would never have occurred in the duller intercourse of epistolary correspondence. So that whenever I reflect on the great pleasure and advantage I received from the free communication of sentiment, in the conversation we had at Kames, and in the agreeable little rides to the Tweed side, I shall for ever regret our premature parting.

No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion, that the *foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America;* and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am, therefore, by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will

in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous, by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world! If the French remain in Canada, they will continually harass our colonies by the Indians, and impede if not prevent their growth; your progress to greatness will at best be slow, and give room for many accidents that may for ever prevent it. But I refrain, for I see you begin to think my notions extravagant, and look upon them as the ravings of a mad prophet.

Your Lordship's kind offer of Penn's picture is extremely obliging. But, were it certainly his picture, it would be too valuable a curiosity for me to think of accepting it. I should only desire the favor of leave to take a copy of it. I could wish to know the history of the picture before it came into your hands, and the grounds for supposing it his. I have at present some doubts about it; first, because the primitive Quakers declared against pictures as a vain expense; a man's suffering his portrait to be taken was conceived as pride; and I think to this day it is very little practised among them. Then, it is on a board; and I imagine the practice of painting portraits on boards did not come down so low as Penn's time; but of this I am not certain. My other reason is an anecdote I have heard, viz., that when old Lord Cobham was adorning his gardens at Stow with busts of

famous men, he made inquiry of the family for the picture of William Penn, in order to get a bust formed from it, but could find none; that Sylvanus Bevan, an old Quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted; and cut a little bust of him in ivory, which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my Lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it, immediately cried out, "Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!" And from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed.

I doubt, too, whether the whisker was not quite out of use at the time when Penn must have been of an age appearing in the face of that picture. And yet, notwithstanding these reasons, I am not without some hope that it may be his; because I know some eminent Quakers have had their pictures privately drawn and deposited with trusty friends; and know, also, that there is extant in Philadelphia a very good picture of Mrs. Penn, his last wife. After all, I own I have a strong desire to be satisfied concerning this picture; and as Bevan is yet living here, and some other old Quakers that remember William Penn, who died but 1718, I would wish to have it sent to me carefully packed up in a box by the wagon, (for I would not trust it by sea), that I may obtain their opinion. The charges I shall very cheerfully pay; and

if it proves to be Penn's picture, I shall be greatly obliged to your Lordship for leave to take a copy of it, and will carefully return the original.[1]

My son joins with me in the most respectful compliments to you and Lady Kames. Our conversation, till we came to York, was chiefly a recollection of what we had seen and heard, the pleasures we had enjoyed, and the kindnesses we had received, in Scotland, and how far that country had exceeded our expectations. On the whole, I must say, I think the time we spent there was six weeks of the *densest* happiness I have met with in any part of my life; and the agreeable and instructive society we found there in such plenty has left so pleasing an impression on my memory, that, did not strong connexions draw me elsewhere, I believe Scotland would be the country I should choose to spend the remainder of my days in. I have the honor to be, with the sincerest esteem and affection, my dear Lord, &c., B. FRANKLIN.

## CLXXX.

### TO JOHN HUGHES.

LONDON, 7 January, 1760.

DEAR SIR:—On my return from our northern journey I found several of your obliging favors, for which please to accept my hearty thanks. There has been for some time a talk of peace, and probably we should have had one this winter, if the King of Prussia's late misfortunes had not given the enemy

[1] Time has vindicated Franklin's doubts about this picture.—ED.

fresh spirits, and encouraged them to try their luck another campaign, and exert all their remaining strength, in hopes of treating with Hanover in their hands. If this should be the case, possibly most of our advantages may be given up again at the treaty, and some among our great men begin already to prepare the minds of people for this, by discoursing that to keep Canada would draw on us the envy of other powers, and occasion a confederation against us; that the country is too large for us to people; not worth possessing, and the like. These notions I am every day and every hour combating, and I think not without some success. The event God only knows. The argument that seems to have the principal weight is, that, in case of another war, if we keep possession of Canada, the nation will save two or three millions a year, now spent in defending the American colonies, and be so much the stronger in Europe, by the addition of the troops now employed on that side of the water. To this I add, that the colonies would thrive and increase in a much greater degree, and that a vast additional demand would arise for British manufactures to supply so great an extent of Indian territory, with many other topics, which I urge occasionally, according to the company I happen into, or the persons I address. And, on the whole, I flatter myself that my being here at this time may be of some service to the general interest of America.

The acts of last year have all come to hand, but not all in a condition to be laid before the King for his approbation, as the governor's proposed amendments

are tacked to them, and no distinction as to which were agreed to, or whether any or none; so that, in some of the most material acts, there is no ascertaining what is intended to be law or what not. This mistake was fallen into, I suppose, from the late practice of sending home the bills refused by the governor, with his proposed amendments certified by the clerk of the House, and under the great seal, that the true state of such refused bills might be known here; but, when bills are passed into laws, the copies to be sent here should be taken from the Rolls Office after the laws are deposited there, and certified by the Master of the Rolls to be true copies; and then the governor, under the great seal, certifies that the Master of the Rolls is such an officer, and that credit ought to be given to his certificate; or otherwise that those copies are true copies, agreeable to the laws passed by him as governor. But the certificates with these laws only express that such bills were sent up to him for his assent on such a day; that he proposed the annexed amendment on such a day, and on such a day he passed the bills without saying a word whether the amendments were agreed to or not. Indeed, by the part of the minutes which came[1] ——

## CLXXXI.

### TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 5 March, 1760.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I received the enclosed some time since from Mr. Strahan. I afterwards spent an

[1] The remainder of the letter is lost.

evening in conversation with him on the subject. He was very urgent with me to stay in England, and prevail with you to remove hither with Sally. He proposed several advantageous schemes to me, which appeared reasonably founded. His family is a very agreeable one: Mrs. Strahan, a sensible and good woman, the children of amiable characters, and particularly the young man, who is sober, ingenious, and industrious, and a desirable person. In point of circumstances there can be no objection, Mr. Strahan being in such a way as to lay up a thousand pounds every year from the profits of his business, after maintaining his family and paying all charges. I gave him, however, two reasons why I could not think of removing hither: one, my affection to Pennsylvania, and long established friendships and other connexions there; the other, your invincible aversion to crossing the seas. And without removing hither, I could not think of parting with my daughter to such a distance. I thanked him for the regard shown to us in the proposal, but gave him no expectation that I should forward the letters. So you are at liberty to answer or not, just as you think proper. Let me, however, know your sentiments. You need not deliver the letter to Sally, if you do not think it proper.

My best respects to Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bartram, and all inquiring friends. I am your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I have wrote several letters to you lately, but can now hardly tell by what ships.

# CLXXXII.

## TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

CRAVEN STREET, 1 May, 1760.

I embrace, most gladly, my dear friend's proposal of a subject for our future correspondence; not only as it will occasion my hearing from her more frequently, but as it will lay me under a necessity of improving my own knowledge, that I may be better able to assist in her improvement. I only fear my necessary business and journeys, with the natural indolence of an old man, will make me too unpunctual a correspondent. For this I must hope some indulgence. But why will you, by the cultivation of your mind, make yourself still more amiable, and a more desirable companion for a man of understanding, when you are determined, as I hear, to live single? If we enter, as you propose, into *moral* as well as natural philosophy, I fancy, when I have established my authority as a tutor, I shall take upon me to lecture you a little on the chapter of duty.

But, to be serious, our easiest mode of proceeding, I think, will be for you to read some books that I may recommend to you; and, in the course of your reading, whatever occurs that you do not thoroughly apprehend, or that you clearly conceive and find pleasure in, may occasion either some questions for further information, or some observations that show how far you are satisfied and pleased with your author. These will furnish matter for your letters to me, and, in consequence, mine also to you.

Let me know, then, what books you have already perused on the subject intended, that I may the better judge what to advise for your next reading. And believe me ever, my dear good girl, your affectionate friend and servant, B. FRANKLIN.

## CLXXXIII.

TO LORD KAMES.

LONDON, 3 May, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD:—I have endeavoured to comply with your request in writing something on the present situation of our affairs in America, in order to give more correct notions of the British interest with regard to the colonies, than those I found many sensible men possessed of. Enclosed you have the production, such as it is. I wish it may, in any degree, be of service to the public. I shall at least hope this from it, for my own part, that you will consider it as a letter from me to you, and take its length as some excuse for being so long a coming.[1]

I am now reading with great pleasure and improvement your excellent work, *The Principles of Equity.* It will be of the greatest advantage to the judges in our colonies, not only in those which have courts of chancery, but also in those which, having no such courts, are obliged to mix equity with common law. It will be of more service to the colony judges, as few of them have been bred to the law. I have sent a

[1] This was probably the tract, entitled "The Interest of Great Britain Considered," which was first published in 1760.

book to a particular friend, one of the judges of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania.

I will shortly send you a copy of the "Chapter" you are pleased to mention in so obliging a manner; and shall be extremely obliged in receiving a copy of the collection of *Maxims for the Conduct of Life*, which you are preparing for the use of your children. I purpose likewise a little work for the benefit of youth, to be called *The Art of Virtue*. From the title I think you will hardly conjecture what the nature of such a book may be. I must therefore explain it a little. Many people lead bad lives that would gladly lead good ones, but do not know *how* to make the change. They have frequently *resolved* and *endeavoured* it; but in vain, because their endeavours have not been properly conducted. To expect people to be good, to be just, to be temperate, &c., without *showing* them *how* they should *become* so, seems like the ineffectual charity mentioned by the Apostle, which consists in saying to the hungry, the cold, and the naked, "Be ye fed, be ye warmed, be ye clothed," without showing them how they should get food, fire, or clothing.

Most people have naturally *some* virtues, but none have naturally *all* the virtues. To *acquire* those that are wanting, and secure what we acquire, as well as those we have naturally, is as properly an art as painting, navigation, or architecture. If a man would become a painter, navigator, or architect, it is not enough that he is *advised* to be one, that he is *convinced* by the arguments of his adviser that

it would be for his advantage to be one, and that he resolves to be one, but he must also be taught the principles of the art, be shown all the methods of working, and how to acquire the habits of using properly all the instruments; and thus regularly and gradually he arrives, by practice, at some perfection in the art. If he does not proceed thus, he is apt to meet with difficulties that discourage him, and make him drop the pursuit.

My *Art of Virtue* has also its instruments, and teaches the manner of using them. Christians are directed to have faith in Christ, as the effectual means of obtaining the change they desire. It may, when sufficiently strong, be effectual with many; for a full opinion, that a teacher is infinitely wise, good, and powerful, and that he will certainly reward and punish the obedient and disobedient, must give great weight to his precepts, and make them much more attended to by his disciples. But many have this faith in so weak a degree, that it does not produce the effect. Our *Art of Virtue* may, therefore, be of great service to those whose faith is unhappily not so strong, and may come in aid of its weakness. Such as are naturally well disposed, and have been so carefully educated, as that good habits have been early established, and bad ones prevented, have less need of this art; but all may be more or less benefited by it. It is, in short, to be adapted for universal use. I imagine what I have now been writing will seem to savour of great presumption. I must therefore speedily finish my little piece, and communicate

the manuscript to you, that you may judge whether it is possible to make good such pretensions. I shall at the same time hope for the benefit of your corrections. I am, &c., B. FRANKLIN.

## CLXXXIV.

TO PETER FRANKLIN.[1]

LONDON, 7 May, 1760.

—— It has, indeed, as you observe, been the opinion of some very great naturalists, that the sea is salt only from the dissolution of mineral or rock salt, which its waters happened to meet with. But this opinion takes it for granted, that all water was originally fresh, of which we can have no proof. I own I am inclined to a different opinion, and rather think all the water on this globe was originally salt, and that the fresh water we find in springs and rivers, is the produce of distillation. The sun raises the vapors from the sea, which form clouds, and fall in rain upon the land, and springs and rivers are formed of that rain. As to the rock salt found in mines, I conceive that, instead of communicating its saltness to the sea, it is itself drawn from the sea, and that of course the sea is now fresher than it was originally. This is only another effect of nature's distillery, and might be performed various ways.

It is evident from the quantities of sea-shells and the bones and teeth of fishes found in high lands, that the sea has formerly covered them. Then, either the sea has been higher than it now is, and has

[1] An elder brother of the author, who resided many years at Newport, in Rhode Island.

fallen away from those high lands, or they have been lower than they are, and were lifted up out of the water to their present height, by some internal mighty force, such as we still feel some remains of, when whole continents are moved by earthquakes. In either case, it may be supposed that large hollows, or valleys among hills, might be left filled with sea-water, which evaporating, and the fluid part drying away in a course of years, would leave the salt covering the bottom; and that salt, coming afterwards to be covered with earth from the neighbouring hills, could only be found by digging through that earth. Or, as we know from their effects, that there are deep fiery caverns under the earth, and even under the sea, if at any time the sea leaks into any of them, the fluid parts of the water must evaporate from that heat, and pass off through some volcano, while the salt remains, and by degrees, and continual accretion, becomes a great mass. Thus the cavern may at length be filled, and the volcano connected with it cease burning, as many it is said have done; and future miners, penetrating such cavern, find what we call a salt-mine. This is a fancy I had on visiting the salt-mines at Norwich, with my son. I send you a piece of the rock salt which he brought up with him out of the mine. I am, &c., B. FRANKLIN.

## CLXXXV.

TO ALEXANDER SMALL, LONDON.

12 May, 1760.

DEAR SIR:—Agreeably to your request, I send you my reasons for thinking that our northeast storms in

North America begin first, in point of time, in the southwest parts; that is to say, the air in Georgia, the farthest of our colonies to the southwest, begins to move southwesterly before the air of Carolina, which is the next colony northeastward; the air of Carolina has the same motion before the air of Virginia, which lies still more northeastward; and so on northeasterly through Pennsylvania, New York, New England, &c., quite to Newfoundland.

These northeast storms are generally very violent, continue sometimes two or three days, and often do considerable damage in the harbours along the coast. They are attended with thick clouds and rain.

What first gave me this idea, was the following circumstance. About twenty years ago, a few more or less, I cannot from my memory be certain, we were to have an eclipse of the moon at Philadelphia, on a Friday evening, about nine o'clock. I intended to observe it, but was prevented by a northeast storm, which came on about seven, with thick clouds as usual, that quite obscured the whole hemisphere. Yet when the post brought us the Boston newspaper, giving an account of the effects of the same storm in those parts, I found the beginning of the eclipse had been well observed there, though Boston lies northeast of Philadelphia about four hundred miles. This puzzled me, because the storm began with us so soon as to prevent any observation, and, being a northeast storm, I imagined it must have begun rather sooner in places farther to the northeastward than it did at Philadelphia. I therefore mentioned it in a letter to

my brother, who lived at Boston; and he informed me the storm did not begin with them till near eleven o'clock, so that they had a good observation of the eclipse; and upon comparing all the other accounts I received from the several colonies, of the time of beginning of the same storm, and, since that, of other storms of the same kind, I found the beginning to be always later the farther northeastward. I have not my notes with me here in England, and cannot, from memory, say the proportion of time to distance, but I think it is about an hour to every hundred miles.

From thence I formed an idea of the cause of these storms, which I would explain by a familiar instance or two. Suppose a long canal of water stopped at the end by a gate. The water is quite at rest till the gate is open, then it begins to move out through the gate; the water next the gate is first in motion, and moves towards the gate; the water next to that first water moves next, and so on successively, till the water at the head of the canal is in motion, which is last of all. In this case, all the water moves indeed towards the gate, but the successive times of beginning motion are the contrary way, viz., from the gate backwards to the head of the canal. Again, suppose the air in a chamber at rest, no current through the room till you make a fire in the chimney. Immediately the air in the chimney, being rarefied by the fire, rises; the air next the chimney flows in to supply its place, moving towards the chimney; and, in consequence, the rest of the air successively, quite back to the door. Thus to produce our northeast

storms, I suppose some great heat and rarefaction of the air in or about the Gulf of Mexico; the air thence rising has its place supplied by the next more northern, cooler, and therefore denser and heavier air; that, being in motion, is followed by the next more northern air, &c., &c., in a successive current, to which current our coast and inland ridge of mountains give the direction of northeast, as they lie northeast and southwest.

This I offer only as an hypothesis to account for this particular fact; and perhaps, on farther examination, a better and truer may be found. I do not suppose all storms generated in the same manner. Our northwest thunder-gusts in America, I know are not; but of them I have written my opinion fully in a paper which you have seen. I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CLXXXVI.

TO MISS STEVENSON, AT WANSTEAD.

CRAVEN STREET, 16 May, 1760.

I send my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night. I beg her to accept of them as a small mark of my esteem and friendship. They are written in the familiar, easy manner, for which the French are so remarkable; and afford a good deal of philosophic and practical knowledge, unembarrassed with the dry mathematics used by more exact reasoners, but which is apt to discourage young beginners.

I would advise you to read with a pen in your hand, and enter in a little book short hints of what you find that is curious, or that may be useful; for this will be the best method of imprinting such particulars in your memory, where they will be ready, either for practice on some future occasion, if they are matters of utility, or at least to adorn and improve your conversation, if they are rather points of curiosity. And as many of the terms of science are such, as you cannot have met with in your common reading, and may therefore be unacquainted with, I think it would be well for you to have a good dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you meet with a word you do not comprehend the precise meaning of. This may at first seem troublesome and interrupting; but it is a trouble that will daily diminish, as you will daily find less and less occasion for your dictionary, as you become more acquainted with the terms; and in the mean time you will read with more satisfaction, because with more understanding.

When any point occurs, in which you would be glad to have farther information than your book affords you, I beg you would not in the least apprehend that I should think it a trouble to receive and answer your questions. It will be a pleasure, and no trouble. For though I may not be able, out of my own little stock of knowledge, to afford you what you require, I can easily direct you to the books, where it may most readily be found. Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

# CLXXXVII.

## TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

CRAVEN STREET, 11 June, 1760.

It is a very sensible question you ask, how the air can affect the barometer, when its opening appears covered with wood? If indeed it was so closely covered as to admit of no communication of the outward air to the surface of the mercury, the change of weight in the air could not possibly affect it. But the least crevice is sufficient for the purpose; a pinhole will do the business. And if you could look behind the frame to which your barometer is fixed, you would certainly find some small opening.

There are indeed some barometers in which the body of mercury at the lower end is contained in a close leather bag, and so the air cannot come into immediate contact with the mercury; yet the same effect is produced. For, the leather being flexible, when the bag is pressed by any additional weight of air, it contracts, and the mercury is forced up into the tube; when the air becomes lighter, and its pressure less, the weight of the mercury prevails, and it descends again into the bag.

Your observation on what you have lately read concerning insects is very just and solid. Superficial minds are apt to despise those who make that part of the creation their study, as mere triflers; but certainly the world has been much obliged to them.

Under the care and management of man, the labors of the little silkworm afford employment and subsistence to thousands of families, and become an immense article of commerce. The bee, too, yields us its delicious honey, and its wax useful to a multitude of purposes. Another insect, it is said, produces the cochineal, from which we have our rich scarlet dye. The usefulness of the cantharides, or Spanish flies, in medicine, is known to all, and thousands owe their lives to that knowledge. By human industry and observation, other properties of other insects may possibly be hereafter discovered, and of equal utility. A thorough acquaintance with the nature of these little creatures may also enable mankind to prevent the increase of such as are noxious, or secure us against the mischiefs they occasion. These things doubtless your books make mention of; I can only add a particular late instance which I had from a Swedish gentleman of good credit. In the green timber, intended for ship-building at the King's yards in that country, a kind of worms were found, which every year became more numerous and more pernicious, so that the ships were greatly damaged before they came into use. The King sent Linnæus, the great naturalist, from Stockholm, to inquire into the affair, and see if the mischief was capable of any remedy. He found, on examination, that the worm was produced from a small egg, deposited in the little roughnesses on the surface of the wood, by a particular kind of fly or beetle; from which the worm, as soon as it was hatched, began to eat into the substance of the wood,

and after some time came out again a fly of the parent kind, and so the species increased. The season in which the fly laid its eggs, Linnæus knew to be about a fortnight (I think) in the month of May, and at no other time in the year. He therefore advised, that, some days before that season, all the green timber should be thrown into the water, and kept under water till the season was over. Which being done by the King's order, the flies, missing their usual nests, could not increase; and the species was either destroyed or went elsewhere; and the wood was effectually preserved; for, after the first year, it became too dry and hard for their purpose.

There is, however, a prudent moderation to be used in studies of this kind. The knowledge of nature may be ornamental, and it may be useful; but if, to attain an eminence in that, we neglect the knowledge and practice of essential duties, we deserve reprehension. For there is no rank in natural knowledge of equal dignity and importance with that of being a good parent, a good child, a good husband or wife, a good neighbour or friend, a good subject or citizen—that is, in short, a good Christian. Nicholas Gimcrack, therefore, who neglected the care of his family, to pursue butterflies, was a just object of ridicule, and we must give him up as fair game to the satirist.

Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

# CLXXXVIII.

## TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 27 June, 1760.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I wrote a line to you by the packet to let you know we were well, and I promised to write you fully by Captain Budden, and answer all your letters, which I accordingly now sit down to do. I am concerned that so much trouble should be given you by idle reports concerning me. Be satisfied, my dear, that while I have my senses, and God vouchsafes me his protection, I shall do nothing unworthy the character of an honest man, and one that loves his family.

I have not yet seen Mr. Beatty, nor do I know where to write to him. He forwarded your letter to me from Ireland. The paragraph of your letter, inserted in the papers, related to the negro school. I gave it to the gentlemen concerned, as it was a testimony in favor of their pious design. But I did not expect they would print it with your name. They have since chosen me one of the Society, and I am at present chairman for the current year. I enclose you an account of their proceedings.[1]

I did not receive the *Prospect of Quebec*, which you

[1] This relates to a scheme which had been set on foot by the philanthropic Dr. Thomas Bray, who passed a large part of his life in performing deeds of benevolence and charity. He became acquainted at the Hague with M. D'Allone, who approved and favored his schemes. M. D'Allone, during his lifetime, gave to Dr. Bray a considerable sum of money, which was to be applied to the conversion of negroes in the British Plantations, and at his death he left an additional sum of nine hundred pounds for the same object. Dr. Bray formed an association for the management and proper disposal of these funds. He died in 1730, and the same trust continued to be executed by a company of gentlemen, called "Dr. Bray's Associates." Dr. Franklin was for several years one of these associates.

mention that you sent me. Peter continues with me, and behaves as well as I can expect, in a country where there are many occasions of spoiling servants, if they are ever so good. He has as few faults as most of them, and I see with only one eye and hear only with one ear; so we rub on pretty comfortably. King, that you inquire after, is not with us. He ran away from our house near two years ago, while we were absent in the country; but was soon found in Suffolk, where he had been taken into the service of a lady, that was very fond of the merit of making him a Christian, and contributing to his education and improvement. As he was of little use, and often in mischief, Billy consented to her keeping him while we stay in England. So the lady sent him to school, had him taught to read and write, to play on the violin and French horn, with some other accomplishments more useful in a servant. Whether she will finally be willing to part with him, or persuade Billy to sell him to her, I know not. In the mean time he is no expense to us.

The accounts you give me of the marriages of our friends are very agreeable. I love to hear of every thing that tends to increase the number of good people. You cannot conceive how shamefully the mode here is a single life. One can scarce be in the company of a dozen men of circumstance and fortune, but what it is odds that you find on inquiry eleven of them are single. The great complaint is the excessive expensiveness of English wives.

I am extremely concerned with you at the misfor-

tune of our friend Mr. Griffith. How could it possibly happen? It was a terrible fire that of Boston. I shall contribute here towards the relief of the sufferers. Our relations have escaped, I believe, generally; but some of my particular friends must have suffered greatly.

I think you will not complain this year, as you did the last, of being so long without a letter. I have wrote to you very frequently; and shall not be so much out of the way of writing this summer as I was the last. I hope our friend Bartram is safely returned to his family. Remember me to him in the kindest manner.

Poor David Edwards died this day week, of a consumption. I had a letter from a friend of his, acquainting me that he had been long ill, and incapable of doing business, and was at board in the country. I feared he might be in straits, as he never was prudent enough to lay up any thing. So I wrote to him immediately, that, if he had occasion, he might draw on me for five guineas. But he died before my letter got to hand. I hear the woman, at whose house he long lodged and boarded, has buried him and taken all he left, which could not be much, and there are some small debts unpaid. He maintained a good character at Bury, where he lived some years, and was well respected, to my knowledge, by some persons of note there. I wrote to you before, that we saw him at Bury, when we went through Suffolk into Norfolk, the year before last. I hope his good father, my old friend, continues well.

Give my duty to mother, and love to my dear Sally. Remember me affectionately to all inquiring friends, and believe me ever, my dearest Debby, your loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

## CLXXXIX.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

LONDON, 13 September, 1760.

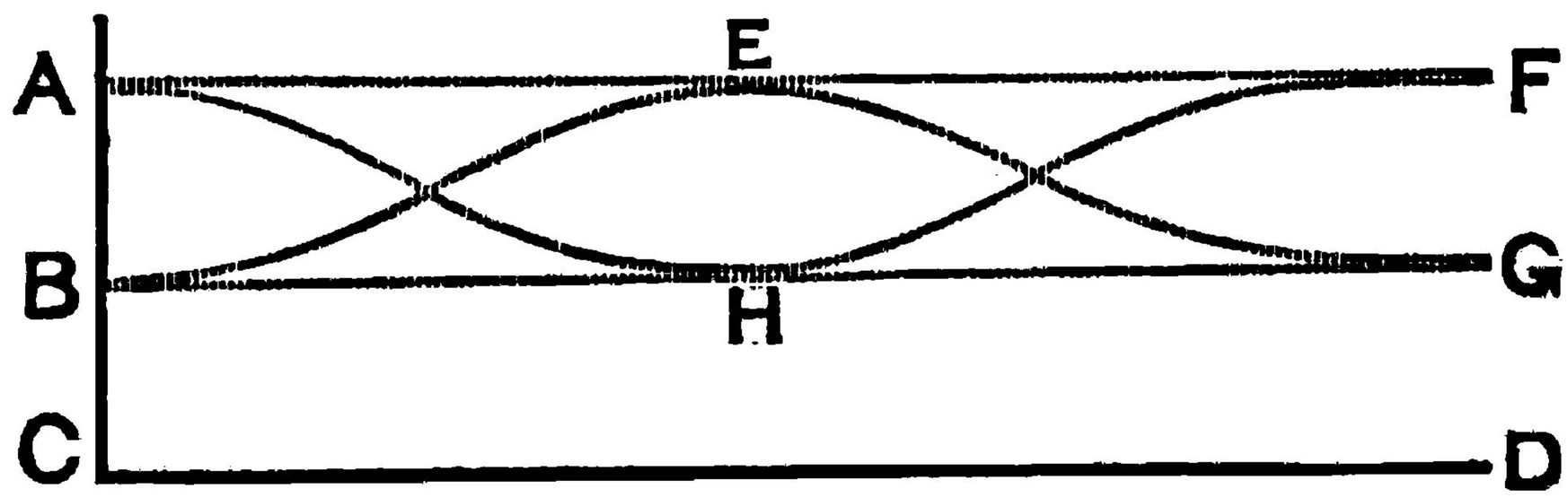
MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have your agreeable letter from Bristol, which I take this first leisure hour to answer, having for some time been much engaged in business.

Your first question, *What is the reason the water at this place, though cold at the spring, becomes warm by pumping?* it will be most prudent in me to forbear attempting to answer, till, by a more circumstantial account, you assure me of the fact. I own I should expect that operation to warm, not so much the water pumped as the person pumping. The rubbing of dry solids together has been long observed to produce heat; but the like effect has never yet, that I have heard, been produced by the mere agitation of fluids, or friction of fluids with solids. Water in a bottle, shook for hours by a mill-hopper, it is said, discovered no sensible addition of heat. The production of animal heat by exercise is therefore to be accounted for in another manner, which I may hereafter endeavour to make you acquainted with.

This prudence of not attempting to give reasons before one is sure of facts, I learned from one of your

sex, who, as Selden tells us, being in company with some gentlemen that were viewing and considering something which they called a Chinese shoe, and disputing earnestly about the manner of wearing it, and how it could possibly be put on, put in her word, and said modestly, *Gentlemen, are you sure it is a shoe? Should not that be settled first?*

But I shall now endeavour to explain what I said to you about the tide in rivers, and to that end shall make a figure, which, though not very like a river, may serve to convey my meaning. Suppose a canal one hundred and forty miles long, communicating at one end with the sea, and filled therefore with sea water. I choose a canal at first, rather than a river, to throw out of consideration the effects produced by the streams of fresh water from the land, the inequality in breadth, and the crookedness of courses.




Let A C be the head of the canal; C D, the bottom of it; D F, the open mouth of it, next the sea. Let the straight pricked line B G represent low-water mark, the whole length of the canal; A F, high-water mark. Now if a person, standing at E, and observing, at the time of high water there, that the canal is quite full at that place up to the line E, should conclude that the canal is equally full to the

same height from end to end, and therefore there was as much more water come into the canal since it was down at low-water mark as would be included in the oblong space A B G F, he would be greatly mistaken. For the tide is *a wave*, and the top of the wave, which makes high water, as well as every other lower part, is progressive; and it is high water successively, but not at the same time, in all the several points between G F and A B. And in such a length as I have mentioned it is low water at F G, and also at A B, at or near the same time with its being high water at E; so that the surface of the water in the canal, during that situation, is properly represented by the curve pricked line B E G. And, on the other hand, when it is low water at E H, it is high water both at F G and at A B, at or near the same time; and the surface would then be described by the inverted curve line, A H F.

In this view of the case, you will easily see that there must be very little more water in the canal at what we call high water, than there is at low water, those terms not relating to the whole canal at the same time, but successively to its parts. And, if you suppose the canal six times as long, the case would not vary as to the quantity of water at different times of the tide; there would only be six waves in the canal at the same time, instead of one, and the hollows in the water would be equal to the hills.

That this is not mere theory, but conformable to fact, we know by our long rivers in America. The Delaware, on which Philadelphia stands, is in this

particular similar to the canal I have supposed of one wave; for, when it is high water at the Capes or mouth of the river, it is also high water at Philadelphia, which stands about one hundred and forty miles from the sea; and there is at the same time a low water in the middle between the two high waters; where, when it comes to be high water, it is at the same time low water at the Capes and at Philadelphia. And the longer rivers have some a wave and a half, some two, three, or four waves, according to their length. In the shorter rivers of this island, one may see the same thing in part; for instance, it is high water at Gravesend an hour before it is high water at London Bridge; and twenty miles below Gravesend, an hour before it it is high water at Gravesend. Therefore at the time of high water at Gravesend the top of the wave is there, and the water is then not so high by some feet where the top of the wave was an hour before, or where it will be an hour after, as it is just then at Gravesend.

Now we are not to suppose, because the swell or top of the wave runs at the rate of twenty miles an hour, that therefore the current, or water itself of which the wave is composed, runs at that rate. Far from it. To conceive this motion of a wave, make a small experiment or two. Fasten one end of a cord in a window near the top of a house, and let the other end come down to the ground; take this end in your hand, and you may, by a sudden motion, occasion a wave in the cord that will run quite up to the window; but though the wave is progressive from your hand to the window, the parts of the rope do not proceed

with the wave, but remain where they were, except only that kind of motion that produces the wave. So if you throw a stone into a pond of water when the surface is still and smooth, you will see a circular wave proceed from the stone as its centre, quite to the sides of the pond; but the water does not proceed with the wave, it only rises and falls to form it in the different parts of its course; and the waves that follow the first, all make use of the same water with their predecessors.

But a wave in water is not indeed in all circumstances exactly like that in a cord; for, water being a fluid, and gravitating to the earth, it naturally runs from a higher place to a lower; therefore the parts of the wave in water do actually run a little both ways from its top towards its lower sides, which the parts of the wave in the cord cannot do. Thus, when it is high and standing water at Gravesend, the water twenty miles below has been running ebb, or towards the sea for an hour, or ever since it was high water there; but the water at London Bridge will run flood, or from the sea yet another hour, till it is high water, or the top of the wave arrives at that bridge, and then it will have run ebb an hour at Gravesend, &c., &c. Now this motion of the water, occasioned only by its gravity, or tendency to run from a higher place to a lower, is by no means so swift as the motion of its wave. It scarce exceeds perhaps two miles in an hour.

If it went, as the wave does, twenty miles an hour, no ships could ride at anchor in such a stream, nor boats row against it.

In common speech, indeed, this current of the water both ways from the top of the wave is called *the tide;* thus we say *the tide runs strong, the tide runs at the rate of one, two, or three miles an hour,* &c., and when we are at a part of the river behind the top of the wave, and find the water lower than high-water mark, and running towards the sea, we say *the tide runs ebb;* and when we are before the top of the wave, and find the water higher than low-water mark, and running from the sea, we say *the tide runs flood;* but these expressions are only locally proper; for a tide, strictly speaking, is *one whole wave,* including all its parts higher and lower, and these waves succeed one another about twice in twenty-four hours.

This motion of the water, occasioned by its gravity, will explain to you why the water near the mouths of rivers may be salter at high water than at low. Some of the salt water, as the tide wave enters the river, runs from its top and fore side, and mixes with the fresh, and also pushes it back up the river.

Supposing that the water commonly runs during the flood at the rate of two miles in an hour, and that the flood runs five hours, you see that it can bring at most into our canal only a quantity of water equal to the space included in the breadth of the canal, ten miles of its length, and the depth between low and high-water mark; which is but a fourteenth part of what would be necessary to fill all the space between low and high-water mark for one hundred and forty miles, the whole length of the canal.

And indeed such a quantity of water as would fill that whole space, to run in and out every tide, must create so outrageous a current, as would do infinite damage to the shores, shipping, &c., and make the navigation of a river almost impracticable.

I have made this letter longer than I intended, and therefore reserve for another what I have further to say on the subject of tides and rivers. I shall now only add that I have not been exact in the numbers, because I would avoid perplexing you with minute calculations, my design at present being chiefly to give you distinct and clear ideas of the first principles.

After writing six folio pages of philosophy to a young girl, is it necessary to finish such a letter with a compliment? Is not such a letter of itself a compliment? Does it not say she has a mind thirsty after knowledge, and capable of receiving it; and that the most agreeable things one can write to her are those that tend to the improvement of her understanding? It does indeed say all this, but then it is still no compliment; it is no more than plain honest truth, which is not the character of a compliment. So if I would finish my letter in the *mode*, I should yet add something that means nothing, and is *merely* civil and polite. But, being naturally awkward at every circumstance of ceremony, I shall not attempt it. I had rather conclude abruptly with what pleases me more than any compliment can please you, that I am allowed to subscribe myself

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

# CXC.

## THE INTEREST OF GREAT BRITAIN CONSIDERED, WITH REGARD TO HER COLONIES AND THE ACQUISITIONS OF CANADA AND GUADALOUPE.[1]

I have perused with no small pleasure, the *Letter Addressed to Two Great Men*, and the *Remarks* on that letter. It is not merely from the beauty, the force, and perspicuity of expression, or the general elegance of manner, conspicuous in both pamphlets, that my pleasure chiefly arises; it is rather from this, that I have lived to see subjects of the greatest importance to this nation publicly discussed without party views or party heat, with decency and politeness, and with no other warmth than what a zeal for the honor and happiness of our King and country may inspire; and this by writers whose understanding, however they may differ from each other, appears not unequal to their candor and the uprightness of their intention.

But, as great abilities have not always the best in-

[1] When the war with France was drawing to its close, the question whether Canada was to be given up to the French or retained as a set-off for acquisitions in the West Indies was much and warmly debated. The Earl of Bath published a "Letter to Two Great Men" (Pitt and Newcastle), recommending the retention of Canada as the more valuable; and shortly afterwards "Remarks on the Letter of Two Great Men," attributed by some to Edmund Burke, and by some to William Burke, appeared,—the writer preferring Guadalupe to Canada.

At this stage of the debate Franklin contributed this pamphlet to the discussion. It provoked a reply, supposed also to have been written by Burke, who stated that he should confine his remarks to the writer of this performance, because of all those who had treated the opposite side of the question "he is clearly the ablest, the most ingenious, the most dexterous, and the most perfectly acquainted with the *fort* and *faible* of the argument, and we may therefore conclude that he has said every thing in the best manner that the cause would bear."

It is difficult now to understand how such a debate could have been provoked by such a question, and not at all surprising that Franklin's view prevailed.—EDITOR.

formation, there are, I apprehend, in the *Remarks*, some opinions not well founded, and some mistakes of so important a nature, as to render a few observations on them necessary for the better information of the public.

The author of the *Letter*, who must be every way best able to support his own sentiments, will, I hope, excuse me, if I seem officiously to interfere; when he considers, that the spirit of patriotism, like other qualities good and bad, is catching, and that his long silence, since the *Remarks* appeared, has made us despair of seeing the subject farther discussed by his masterly hand. The ingenious and candid Remarker, too, who must have been misled himself, before he employed his skill and address to mislead others, will certainly, since he declares he *aims at no seduction*, be disposed to excuse even the weakest effort to prevent it.

And surely, if the general opinions that possess the minds of the people may possibly be of consequence in public affairs, it must be fit to set those opinions right. If there is danger, as the Remarker supposes, that "extravagant expectations" may embarass "a virtuous and able ministry," and "render the negotiation for peace a work of infinite difficulty,"[1] there is no less danger that expectations too low, through want of proper information, may have a contrary effect; may make even a virtuous and able ministry less anxious and less attentive to the obtaining points, in which the honor and interest of the nation

[1] *Remarks*, p. 6.

are essentially concerned; and the people less hearty in supporting such a ministry and its measures.

The people of this nation are indeed respectable, not for their numbers only, but for their understanding and their public spirit. They manifest the first by their universal approbation of the late prudent and vigorous measures, and the confidence they so justly repose in a wise and good prince, and an honest and able administration; the latter they have demonstrated by the immense supplies granted in Parliament unanimously, and paid through the whole kingdom with cheerfulness. And since to this spirit and these supplies our "victories and successes"[1] have, in great measure, been owing, is it quite right, is it generous, to say, with the Remarker, that the people "had no share in acquiring them"? The mere mob he cannot mean, even where he speaks of the madness of the people; for the madness of the mob must be too feeble and impotent, armed as the government of this country at present is, to "overrule,"[2] even in the slightest instances, the virtue "and moderation" of a firm and steady ministry.

While the war continues, its final event is quite uncertain. The victorious of this year may be the vanquished of the next. It may therefore be too early to say, what advantages we ought absolutely to insist on, and make the *sine quibus non* of a peace. If the necessity of our affairs should oblige us to accept of terms less advantageous than our present successes seem to promise us, an intelligent people, as ours is,

[1] *Remarks*, p. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

must see that necessity, and will acquiesce. But as a peace, when it is made, may be made hastily; and as the unhappy continuance of the war affords us time to consider, among several advantages gained or to be gained, which of them may be most for our interest to retain, if some and not all may possibly be retained, I do not blame the public disquisition of these points as premature or useless. Light often arises from a collision of opinions, as fire from flint and steel; and if we can obtain the benefit of the *light*, without danger from the *heat* sometimes produced by controversy, why should we discourage it?

Supposing then that Heaven may still continue to bless his Majesty's arms, and that the event of this just war may put it in our power to retain some of our conquests at the making of a peace; let us consider:

1. *The Security of a Dominion, a justifiable and prudent Ground upon which to demand Cessions from an Enemy.*

Whether we are to confine ourselves to those possessions only that were "the objects for which we began the war."[1] This the Remarker seems to think right, when the question relates to "*Canada, properly so-called;* it having never been mentioned as one of those objects, in any of our memorials or declarations, or in any national or public act whatsoever." But the gentleman himself will probably agree, that if the cession of Canada would be a real advantage to us,

[1] *Remarks*, p. 19.

we may demand it under his second head, as an "*indemnification* for the charges incurred" in recovering our just rights; otherwise, according to his own principles, the demand of Guadaloupe can have no foundation. That "our claims before the war were large enough for possession and for security too,"[1] though it seems a clear point with the ingenious Remarker, is, I own, not so with me. I am rather of the contrary opinion, and shall presently give my reasons.

But first let me observe that we did not make those claims because they were large enough for security, but because we could rightfully claim no more. Advantages gained in the course of this war may increase the extent of our rights. Our claims before the war contained *some* security; but that is no reason why we should neglect acquiring *more*, when the demand of more is become reasonable. It may be reasonable in the case of America to ask for the security recommended by the author of the Letter,[2] though it would be preposterous to do it in many cases. His proposed demand is founded on the little value of Canada to the French; the right we have to ask, and the power we may have to insist on, an indemnification for our expenses; the difficulty the French themselves will be under of restraining their restless subjects in America from encroaching on our limits and disturbing our trade; and the difficulty on our part of preventing encroachments that may possibly exist many years without coming to our knowledge.

[1] *Remarks*, p. 19. [2] Page 30 of the *Letter*, and p. 21 of the *Remarks*.

But the Remarker "does not see why the arguments employed concerning a security for a peaceable behaviour in Canada would not be equally cogent for calling for the same security in Europe."[1] On a little farther reflection, he must, I think, be sensible that the circumstances of the two cases are widely different. *Here* we are separated by the best and clearest of boundaries, the ocean, and we have people in or near every part of our territory. Any attempt to encroach upon us by building a fort, even in the obscurest corner of these Islands, must therefore be known and prevented immediately. The aggressors also must be known, and the nation they belong to would be accountable for their aggression. In America it is quite otherwise. A vast wilderness, thinly or scarce at all peopled, conceals with ease the march of troops and workmen. Important passes may be seized within our limits, and forts built in a month, at a small expense, that may cost us an age and a million to remove. Dear experience has taught this. But what is still worse, the wide-extended forests between our settlements and theirs are inhabited by barbarous tribes of savages that delight in war, and take pride in murder; subjects properly neither of the French nor English, but strongly attached to the former by the art and indefatigable industry of priests, similarity of superstitions, and frequent family alliances. These are easily, and have been continually, instigated to fall upon and massacre our planters, even in times of full peace between the two

[1] *Remarks*, p. 28.

crowns, to the certain diminution of our people and the contraction of our settlements.[1] And though it is known they are supplied by the French, and carry their prisoners to them, we can, by complaining, obtain no redress, as the governors of Canada have a ready excuse, that the Indians are an independent people, over whom they have no power, and for whose actions they are, therefore, not accountable. Surely circumstances so widely different may reasonably authorize different demands of security in America from such as are usual or necessary in Europe.

The Remarker, however, thinks that our real dependence for keeping "France or any other nation

[1] Dr. Clarke, in his "Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French," etc., printed at Boston, 1755, says:

"The Indians in the French interest are, upon all proper opportunities, *instigated by their priests* (who have generally the chief management of their public councils) to acts of hostility against the English, even in time of profound peace between the two crowns. Of this there are many undeniable instances. The war between the Indians and the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, in 1733, by which those colonies suffered so much damage, was begun by the instigation of the French; their supplies were from them; and there are now original letters of several Jesuits to be produced, whereby it evidently appears that they were continually animating the Indians, when almost tired with the war, to a further prosecution of it. The French not only excited the Indians, and supported them, but joined their own forces with them in all the late hostilities that have been committed within his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia. And from an intercepted letter this year from the Jesuits at Penobscot, and from other information, it is certain that they have been using their utmost endeavours to excite the Indians to new acts of hostility against his Majesty's colony of the Massachusetts Bay; and some have been committed. The French not only excite the Indians to acts of hostility, but reward them for it, by *buying the English prisoners of them*, for the ransom of each of which they afterwards demand of us the price that is usually given for a slave in these colonies. They do this under the specious pretence of rescuing the poor prisoners from the cruelties and barbarities of the savages; but in reality to encourage them to continue their depredations, as they can by this means get more by hunting the English than by hunting wild beasts; and the French, at the same time, are thereby enabled to keep up a large body of Indians, entirely at *the expense of the English*."

true to her engagements must not be in demanding securities, which no nation whilst *independent* can give, but on our own strength and our own vigilance."[1] No nation that has carried on a war with disadvantage, and is unable to continue it, can be said under such circumstances to be *independent*; and, while either side thinks itself in a condition to demand an indemnification, there is no man in his senses but will, *cæteris paribus*, prefer an indemnification that is a cheaper and more effectual security than any other he can think of. Nations in this situation demand and cede countries by almost every treaty of peace that is made. The French part of the island of St. Christopher's was added to Great Britain in circumstances altogether similar to those in which a few months may probably place the country of Canada. Farther security has always been deemed a motive with a conqueror to be less moderate; and even the *vanquished* insist upon security as a reason for demanding what they acknowledge they could not otherwise properly ask.

The security of the frontier of France *on the side of the Netherlands* was always considered in the negotiation that began at Gertrudenberg and ended with that war. For the same reason they demanded and had Cape Breton. But a war, concluded to the advantage of France, has always added something to the power, either of France or the House of Bourbon. Even that of 1733, which she commenced with declarations of her having no ambitious views,

[1] *Remarks*, p. 25.

and which finished by a treaty at which the ministers of France repeatedly declared, that she desired nothing for herself, in effect gained for her Lorraine, an indemnification ten times the value of all her North American possessions.

In short, security and quiet of princes and states have ever been deemed sufficient reasons, when supported by power, for disposing of rights; and such dispositions have never been looked on as want of moderation. It has always been the foundation of the most general treaties. The security of Germany was the argument for yielding considerable possessions there to the Swedes; and the security of Europe divided the Spanish monarchy by the partition treaty, made between powers who had no other right to dispose of any part of it. There can be no cession, that is not supposed at least to increase the power of the party to whom it is made. It is enough that he has a right to ask it, and that he does it not merely to serve the purposes of a dangerous ambition.

Canada, in the hands of Britain, will endanger the kingdom of France as little as any other cession; and from its situation and circumstances cannot be hurtful to any other state. Rather, if peace be an advantage, this cession may be such to all Europe. The present war teaches us, that disputes arising in America may be an occasion of embroiling nations, who have no concerns there. If the French remain in Canada and Louisiana, fix the boundaries as you will between us and them, we must border on each

other for more than fifteen hundred miles. The people that inhabit the frontiers are generally the refuse of both nations, often of the worst morals, and the least discretion; remote from the eye, the prudence, and the restraint of government. Injuries are therefore frequently, in some part or other of so long a frontier, committed on both sides, resentment provoked, the colonies are first engaged, and then the mother countries. And two great nations can scarce be at war in Europe, but some other prince or state thinks it a convenient opportunity to revive some ancient claim, seize some advantage, obtain some territory, or enlarge some power at the expense of a neighbour. The flames of war, once kindled, often spread far and wide, and the mischief is infinite. Happy it proved to both nations, that the Dutch were prevailed on finally to cede the New Netherlands (now the province of New York) to us at the peace of 1674; a peace that has ever since continued between us, but must have been frequently disturbed, if they had retained the possession of that country, bordering several hundred miles on our colonies of Pennsylvania westward, Connecticut and the Massachusetts eastward. Nor is it to be wondered at, that people of different language, religion, and manners, should in those remote parts engage in frequent quarrels, when we find that even the people of our own colonies have frequently been so exasperated against each other, in their disputes about boundaries, as to proceed to open violence and bloodshed.

2. *Erecting Forts in the back Setlements, almost in no Instance a sufficient Security against the Indians and the French; but the Possession of Canada implies every Security, and ought to be had, while in our Power.*

But the Remarker thinks we shall be sufficiently secure in America, if we "raise English forts at such passes as may at once make us respectable to the French and to the Indian nations.[1] The security desirable in America may be considered as of three kinds: 1. A security of possession, that the French shall not drive us out of the country. 2. A security of our planters from the inroads of savages, and the murders committed by them. 3. A security that the British nation shall not be obliged, on every new war, to repeat the immense expense occasioned by this, to defend its possessions in America.

Forts in the most important passes may, I acknowledge, be of use to obtain the *first* kind of security; but, as those situations are far advanced beyond the inhabitants, the expense of maintaining and supplying the garrisons will be very great, even in time of full peace, and immense on every interruption of it; as it is easy for skulking parties of the enemy, in such long roads through the woods, to intercept and cut off our convoys, unless guarded continually by great bodies of men.

The *second* kind of security will not be obtained by such forts, unless they were connected by a wall like that of China, from one end of our settlements to the

[1] *Remarks*, p. 25.

other. If the Indians, when at war, marched like the Europeans, with great armies, heavy cannon, bagagge, and carriages; the passes through which alone such armies could penetrate our country, or receive their supplies, being secured, all might be sufficiently secure. But the case is widely different; they go to war, as they call it, in small parties; from fifty men down to five. Their hunting life has made them acquainted with the whole country, and scarce any part of it is impracticable to such a party. They can travel through the woods even by night, and know how to conceal their tracks. They pass easily between your forts undiscovered; and privately approach the settlements of your frontier inhabitants. They need no convoys of provisions to follow them; for whether they are shifting from place to place in the woods, or lying in wait for an opportunity to strike a blow, every thicket and every stream furnishes so small a number with sufficient subsistence. When they have surprised separately and murdered and scalped a dozen families, they are gone with inconceivable expedition through unknown ways; and it is very rare that pursuers have any chance of coming up with them. In short, long experience has taught our planters that they cannot rely upon forts as a security against Indians; the inhabitants of Hackney might as well rely upon the Tower of London, to secure them against highwaymen and housebreakers.

As to the *third* kind of security, that we shall not, in a few years, have all we have done to do over again in America, and be obliged to employ the same

number of troops and ships, at the same immense expense, to defend our possessions there, while we are in proportion weakened here; such forts, I think, cannot prevent this. During a peace, it is not to be doubted the French, who are adroit at fortifying, will likewise erect forts in the most advantageous places of the country we leave them; which will make it more difficult than ever to be reduced in case of another war. We know, by experience of this war, how extremely difficult it is to march an army through the American woods, with its necessary cannon and stores, sufficient to reduce a very slight fort. The accounts at the treasury will tell you what amazing sums we have necessarily spent in the expeditions against two very trifling forts, Duquesne and Crown Point. While the French retain their influence over the Indians, they can easily keep our long-extended frontier in continual alarm, by a very few of those people; and, with a small number of regulars and militia, in such a country, we find they can keep an army of ours in full employ for several years. We therefore shall not need to be told by our colonies, that if we leave Canada, however circumscribed, to the French, "we have done nothing"[1]; we shall soon be made sensible *ourselves* of this truth, and to our cost.

I would not be understood to deny, that even if we subdue and take Canada, some *few forts* may be of use to secure the goods of the traders, and protect the commerce, in case of any sudden misunderstand-

[1] *Remarks*, p. 26.

ing with any tribe of Indians; but these forts will be best under the care of the colonies interested in the Indian trade, and garrisoned by their provincial forces, and at their own expense. Their own interest will then induce the American governments to take care of such forts in proportion to their importance, and see that the officers keep their corps full, and mind their duty. But any troops of ours placed there, and accountable here, would in such remote and obscure places, and at so great a distance from the eye and inspection of superiors, soon become of little consequence, even though the French were left in possession of Canada. If the four independent companies, maintained by the crown in New York more than forty years, at a great expense, consisted, for most part of the time, of faggots chiefly; if their officers enjoyed their places as sinecures, and were only, as a writer[1] of that country styles them, a kind of military monks; if this was the state of troops posted in a populous country, where the imposition could not be so well concealed, what may we expect will be the case of those that shall be posted two, three, or four hundred miles from the inhabitants, in such obscure and remote places as Crown Point, Oswego, Duquesne, or Niagara? They would scarce be even faggots; they would dwindle to mere names upon paper, and appear nowhere but upon the muster-rolls.

Now all the kinds of security we have mentioned are obtained by subduing and *retaining* Canada. Our

[1] Douglass.

present possessions in America are secured; our planters will no longer be massacred by the Indians, who, depending absolutely on us for what are now become the necessaries of life to them (guns, powder, hatchets, knives, and clothing), and having no other Europeans near, that can either supply them, or instigate them against us, there is no doubt of their being always disposed, if we treat them with common justice, to live in perpetual peace with us. And, with regard to France, she cannot, in case of another war, put us to the immense expense of defending that long-extended frontier; we shall then, as it were, have our backs against a wall in America; the sea-coast will be easily protected by our superior naval power; and here "our own watchfulness and our own strength" will be properly, and cannot but be successfully, employed. In this situation, the force now employed in that part of the world may be spared for any other service here or elsewhere; so that both the offensive and defensive strength of the British empire, on the whole, will be greatly increased.

But to leave the French in possession of Canada, when it is in our power to remove them, and depend (as the Remarker proposes) on our own "strength and watchfulness"[1] to prevent the mischiefs that may attend it, seems neither safe nor prudent. Happy as we now are, under the best of kings, and in the prospect of a succession promising every felicity a nation was ever blessed with; happy, too, in the wisdom and vigor of every part of the administration, we cannot,

[1] *Remarks*, p. 25.

we ought not to promise ourselves the uninterrupted continuance of those blessings. The safety of a considerable part of the state, and the interest of the whole, are not to be trusted to the wisdom and vigor of *future administrations*, when a security is to be had more effectual, more constant, and much less expensive. They who can be moved by the apprehension of dangers so remote, as that of the future independence of our colonies (a point I shall hereafter consider), seem scarcely consistent with themselves, when they suppose we may rely on the wisdom and vigor of an administration for their safety. I should indeed think it less material whether Canada were ceded to us or not, if I had in view only the security of *possession* in our colonies. I entirely agree with the Remarker, that we are in North America, "a far greater continental as well as naval power," and that only cowardice or ignorance can subject our colonies there to a French conquest. But, for the same reason, I disagree with him widely upon another point.

3. *The Blood and Treasure spent in the American Wars, not spent in the Cause of the Colonies alone.*

I do not think that our "blood and treasure have been expended," as he intimates, "in the cause of the colonies," and that we are "making conquests for *them*"[1]; yet I believe this is too common an error. I do not say they are altogether unconcerned in the event. The inhabitants of them are, in common with

[1] *Remarks*, p. 25.

the other subjects of Great Britain, anxious for the glory of her crown, the extent of her power and commerce, the welfare and future repose of the whole British people. They could not, therefore, but take a large share in the affronts offered to Britain; and have been animated with a truly British spirit to exert themselves beyond their strength, and against their evident interest. Yet so unfortunate have they been, that their virtue has made against them; for upon no better foundation than this have they been supposed the authors of a war carried on for their advantage only.

It is great mistake to imagine that the American country in question between Great Britain and France is claimed as the property of any *individual or public body in America;* or that the possession of it by Great Britain is likely, in any lucrative view, to redound at all to the advantage of any person there. On the other hand, the bulk of the inhabitants of North America are land-owners, whose lands are inferior in value to those of Britain, only by the want of an equal number of people. It is true, the accession of the large territory claimed before the war began (especially if that be secured by the possession of Canada), will tend to the increase of the British subjects, faster than if they had been confined within the mountains; yet the increase within the mountains only, would evidently make the comparative population equal to that of Great Britain, much sooner than it can be expected when our people are spread over a country six times as large. I think this is the only point of light in

which this account is to be viewed, and is the only one in which any of the colonies are concerned.

No colony, no possessor of lands in any colony, therefore, wishes for conquests, or can be benefited by them, otherwise than as they may be a means of securing peace on their borders. No considerable advantage has resulted to the colonies by the conquests of this war, or can result from confirming them by the peace, but what they must enjoy in common with the rest of the British people; with this evident drawback from their share of these advantages, that they will necessarily lessen or at least prevent the increase of the value of what makes the principal part of their private property, their land. A people spread through the whole tract of country on this side the Mississippi, and secured by Canada in our hands, would probably for some centuries find employment in agriculture, and thereby free us at home effectually from our fears of American manufactures. Unprejudiced men well know, that all the penal and prohibitory laws that were ever thought on will not be sufficient to prevent manufactures in a country whose inhabitants surpass the number that can subsist by the husbandry of it. That this will be the case in America soon, if our people remain confined within the mountains, and almost as soon should it be unsafe for them to live beyond, though the country be ceded to us, no man acquainted with political and commercial history can doubt. Manufactures are founded in poverty. It is the multitude of poor without land in a country, and who must work for others

at low wages or starve, that enables undertakers to carry on a manufacture, and afford it cheap enough to prevent the importation of the same kind from abroad, and to bear the expense of its own exportation.

But no man, who can have a piece of land of his own, sufficient by his labor to subsist his family in plenty, is poor enough to be a manufacturer, and work for a master. Hence, while there is land enough in America for our people, there can never be manufactures to any amount or value. It is a striking observation of a very able pen, that the natural livelihood of the thin inhabitants of a forest country is hunting; that of a greater number, pasturage; that of a middling population, agriculture; and that of the greatest, manufactures; which last must subsist the bulk of the people in a full country, or they must be subsisted by charity, or perish. The extended population, therefore, that is most advantageous to Great Britain, will be best effected, because only effectually secured, by the possession of Canada.

So far as the *being* of our present colonies in North America is concerned, I think indeed with the Remarker, that the French there are not "*an enemy to be apprehended*"[1]; but the expression is too vague to be applicable to the present, or indeed to any other case. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, unequal as they are to this nation in power and numbers of people, are enemies to be still apprehended; and the Highlanders of Scotland have been so for many ages,

[1] *Remarks*, p. 27.

by the greatest princes of Scotland and Britain. The wild Irish were able to give a great deal of disturbance even to Queen Elizabeth, and cost her more blood and treasure than her war with Spain. Canada, in the hands of France, has always stinted the growth of our colonies, in the course of this war, and indeed before it; has disturbed and vexed even the best and strongest of them; has found means to murder thousands of their people, and unsettle a great part of their country. Much more able will it be to starve the growth of an infant settlement. Canada has also found means to make this nation spend two or three millions a year in America; and a people, how small soever, that in their present situation can do this as often as we have a war with them, is, methinks, "an enemy to be apprehended."

Our North American colonies are to be considered as the *frontier of the British empire* on that side. The frontier of any dominion being attacked, it becomes not merely "the cause" of the people immediately attacked, the inhabitants of that frontier, but properly "the cause" of the whole body. Where the frontier people owe and pay obedience, there they have a right to look for protection. No political proposition is better established than this. It is therefore invidious to represent the "blood and treasure" spent in this war as spent in "the cause of the colonies" only; and that they are "absurd and ungrateful," if they think we have done nothing, unless we "make conquests for them," and reduce Canada to gratify their "vain ambition," &c. It will not be a

conquest for *them*, nor gratify any vain ambition of theirs. It will be a conquest for the *whole*; and all our people will, in the increase of trade and the ease of taxes, find the advantage of it.

Should we be obliged at any time to make a war for the protection of our commerce, and to secure the exportation of our manufactures, would it be fair to represent such a war merely as blood and treasure spent in the cause of the weavers of Yorkshire, Norwich, or the West, the cuttlers of Sheffield, or the button-makers of Birmingham? I hope it will appear, before I end these sheets, that if ever there was a national war, this is truly such a one; a war in which the interest of the whole nation is directly and fundamentally concerned. Those who would be thought deeply skilled in human nature affect to discover self-interested views everywhere, at the bottom of the fairest, the most generous conduct. Suspicions and charges of this kind meet with ready reception and belief in the minds even of the multitude, and therefore less acuteness and address than the Remarker is possessed of would be sufficient to persuade the nation generally that all the zeal and spirit manifested and exerted by the colonies in this war was only in "their own cause," to "make conquest for themselves," to engage us to make more for them, to gratify their own "vain ambition."

But should they now humbly address the mother country in the terms and the sentiments of the Remarker; return her their grateful acknowledgments for the blood and treasure she had spent in "their

cause"; confess that enough had not been done "for them"; allow that "English forts, raised in proper passes, will, with the wisdom and vigor of her administration," be a sufficient future protection; express their desires that their people may be confined within the mountains, lest, if they be suffered to spread and extend themselves in the fertile and pleasant country on the other side, they should "increase infinitely from all causes," "live wholly on their own labor," and become independent; beg, therefore, that the French may be suffered to remain in possession of Canada, as their neighbourhood may be useful to prevent our increase, and the removing them may "in its consequences be even dangerous" [1];—I say, should such an address from the colonies make its appearance here (though, according to the Remarker, it would be a most just and reasonable one), would it not, might it not, with more justice be answered: "We understand you, Gentlemen, perfectly well; you have only your interest in view; you want to have the people confined within your present limits, that in a few years the lands you are possessed of may increase tenfold in value. You want to reduce the price of labor by increasing numbers on the same territory, that you may be able to set up manufactures and vie with your mother country. You would have your people kept in a body, that you may be more able to dispute the commands of the crown, and obtain an independency. You would have the French left in Canada to exercise your mili-

[1] *Remarks*, pp. 50, 51.

tary virtue, and make you a warlike people, that you may have more confidence to embark in schemes of disobedience, and greater ability to support them. You have tasted, too, the sweets of TWO OR THREE MILLIONS sterling per annum spent among you by our fleets and forces, and you are unwilling to be without a pretence for kindling up another war, and thereby occasioning a repetition of the same delightful doses. But, Gentlemen, allow us to understand *our* interest a little likewise; we shall remove the French from Canada, that you may live in peace, and we be no more drained by your quarrels. You shall have land enough to cultivate, that you may have neither necessity nor inclination to go into manufactures, and we will manufacture for you, and govern you."

A reader of the *Remarks* may be apt to say: "If this writer would have us restore Canada on principles of moderation, how can we, consistent with those principles, retain Guadaloupe, which he represents of so much greater value?" I will endeavour to explain this; because, by doing it, I shall have an opportunity of showing the truth and good sense of the answer to the interested application I have just supposed. The author, then, is only apparently and not really inconsistent with himself. If we can obtain the credit of moderation by restoring Canada, it is well; but we should, however, restore it at *all events;* because it would not only be of no use to us, but "the possession of it (in his opinion) may in its consequences be dangerous."[1] As how? Why, plainly

[1] *Remarks*, pp. 50, 51.

(at length it comes out), if the French are not left there to check the growth of our colonies, "they will extend themselves almost without bounds into inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes; becoming a numerous, hardy, independent people; possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, living wholly on their own labor, and in process of time knowing little and inquiring little about the mother country."

In short, according to this writer, our present colonies are large enough and numerous enough; and the French ought to be left in North America to prevent their increase, lest they become not only useless, but dangerous to Britain. I agree with the gentleman, that, with Canada in our possession, our people in America will increase amazingly. I know that their common rate of increase, where they are not molested by the enemy, is doubling their numbers every twenty-five years, by natural generation only; exclusive of the accession of foreigners.[1] I think this increase continuing would probably, in a century more, make the number of British subjects on that side the water more numerous than they now are on this; but,—

[1] The reason of this greater increase in America than in Europe is, that in old settled countries, all trades, farms, offices, and employments are full; and many people refrain from marriage till they see an opening, in which they can settle themselves, with a reasonable prospect of maintaining a family; but in America, it being easy to obtain land, which, with moderate labor will afford subsistence and something to spare, people marry more readily and earlier in life, whence arise a numerous offspring and the swift population of those countries. It is a common error, that we cannot fill our provinces, or increase the number of them, without draining this nation of its people. The increase alone of our present colonies is sufficient for both those purposes.—F.

*4. Not necessary that the American Colonies should cease being useful to the Mother Country. Their Preference over the West India Colonies stated.*

—I am far from entertaining, on that account, any fears of their becoming either useless or dangerous to us; and I look on those fears to be merely imaginary and without any probable foundation. The Remarker is reserved in giving his reasons; as, in his opinion, this "is not a fit subject for discussion." I shall give mine, because I conceive it a subject necessary to be discussed; and the rather, as those fears, how groundless and chimerical soever, may, by possessing the multitude, possibly induce the ablest ministry to conform to them against their own judgment; and thereby prevent the assuring to the British name and nation a stability and permanency, that no man acquainted with history durst have hoped for, till our American possessions opened the pleasing prospect.

The Remarker thinks that our people in America, "finding no check from Canada, would extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes." The very reason he assigns for their so extending, and which is indeed the true one (their being "invited to it by the pleasantness, fertility, and plenty of the country"), may satisfy us that this extension will continue to proceed as long as there remains any pleasant, fertile country within their reach. And if we even suppose them confined by the waters of the Mississippi westward, and by those of St. Lawrence and the Lakes to the

northward, yet still we shall leave them room enough to increase, even in the matter of settling now practised there, till they amount to perhaps a hundred millions of souls. This must take some centuries to fulfil; and in the mean time this nation must necessarily supply them with the manufactures they consume; because the new settlers will be employed in agriculture; and the new settlements will so continually draw off the spare hands from the old, that our present colonies will not, during the period we have mentioned, find themselves in a condition to manufacture, even for their own inhabitants, to any considerable degree, much less for those who are settling behind them.

Thus our trade must, till that county becomes as fully peopled as England (that is, for centuries to come), be continually increasing, and with it our naval power; because the ocean is between us and them, and our ships and seamen must increase as that trade increases.

The human body and the political differ in this: that the first is limited by nature to a certain stature, which, when attained, it cannot ordinarily exceed; the other, by better government and more prudent policy, as well as by the change of manners, and other circumstances, often takes fresh starts of growth, after being long at a stand, and may add tenfold to the dimensions it had for ages been confined to. The mother, being of full stature, is in a few years equalled by a growing daughter; but in the case of a mother-country and her colonies, it is quite different. The

growth of the children tends to increase the growth of the mother, and so the difference and superiority are longer preserved. Were the inhabitants of this island limited to their present number by any thing in nature, or by unchangeable circumstances, the equality of population between the two countries might indeed sooner come to pass; but sure experience, in those parts of the island where manufactures have been introduced, teaches us that people increase and multiply in proportion as the means and facility of gaining a livelihood increase; and that this island, if they could be employed, is capable of supporting ten times the present number of people.

In proportion, therefore, as the demand increases for the manufactures of Britain, by the increase of people in her colonies, the number of her people at home will increase; and with them the strength as well as the wealth of the nation. For satisfaction in this point, let the reader compare in his mind the number and force of our present fleets with our fleet in Queen Elizabeth's time,[1] before we had colonies. Let him compare the ancient with the present state of our towns on or near our western coast (Manchester, Liverpool, Kendal, Lancaster, Glasgow, and the countries round them) that trade with any manufactures for our colonies (not to mention Leeds, Halifax, Sheffield, and Birmingham), and consider what a difference there is in the numbers of people, buildings, rents, and the value of land and of the produce of land; even if he goes back no farther than is within man's memory. Let him compare those countries with others on the same

[1] Namely forty sail, none of more than forty guns.

island, where manufactures have not yet extended themselves; observe the present difference, and reflect how much greater our strength may be, if numbers give strength, when our manufactures shall occupy every part of the island where they can possibly be subsisted.

But, say the objectors, "there is a *certain distance from the sea*, in America, beyond which the expense of carriage will put a stop to the sale and consumption of your manufactures; and this, with the difficulty of making returns for them, will oblige the inhabitants to manufacture for themselves; of course, if you suffer your people to extend their settlements beyond that distance, your people become useless to you"; and this distance is limited by some to two hundred miles, by others to the Appalachian mountains.

Not to insist on a plain truth, that no part of a dominion from whence a government may on occasion draw supplies and aids both of men and money (though at too great a distance to be supplied with manufactures from some other part) is therefore to be deemed useless to the whole, I shall endeavour to show that these imaginary limits of utility, even in point of commerce, are much too narrow. The inland parts of the continent of Europe are farther from the sea than the limits of settlement proposed for America. Germany is full of tradesmen and artificers of all kinds, and the governments there, are not all of them always favorable to the commerce of Britain; yet it is a well-known fact, that our manufactures find their way even into the heart of Germany. Ask the great manufacturers and merchants of the Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham,

Manchester, and Norwich goods; and they will tell you that some of them send their riders frequently through France or Spain, and Italy, and up to Vienna, and back through the middle and northern parts of Germany, to show samples of their wares, and collect orders, which they receive by almost every mail to a vast amount. Whatever charges arise on the carriage of goods are added to the value, and all paid by the consumer.

If these nations, over whom we can have no government, over whose consumption we can have no influence but what arises from the cheapness and goodness of our wares, whose trade, manufactures, or commercial connexions are not subject to the control of our laws, as those of our colonies certainly are in some degree,—I say, if these nations purchase and consume such quantities of our goods, notwithstanding the remoteness of their situation from the sea, how much less likely is it that the settlers in America, who must for ages be employed in agriculture chiefly, should make cheaper for themselves the goods our manufacturers at present supply them with, even if we suppose the carriage five, six, or seven hundred miles from the sea as difficult and expensive as the like distance into Germany, whereas in the latter the natural distances are frequently doubled by political obstructions—I mean the intermixed territories and clashing interests of princes.[1]

[1] This was before the consolidation of Europe by the Bonapartes, and when, as Sir C. Whitworth asserts in his "State of Trade": "Each state in Germany is jealous of its neighbours; and hence, rather than facilitate the export or transmit of its neighbour's products or manufactures, they have all recourse to strangers."

But when we consider that the inland parts of America are penetrated by great navigable rivers, and there are a number of great lakes, communicating with each other, with those rivers, and with the sea, very small portages here and there excepted [1]; that the sea-coasts (if one may be allowed the expression) of those lakes only amount at least to two thousand seven hundred miles, exclusive of the rivers running into them, many of which are navigable to a great extent for boats and canoes, through vast tracts of country;—how little likely is it that the expense on the carriage of our goods into those countries should prevent the use of them. If the poor Indians in those remote parts are now able to pay for the linen, woollen, and iron wares they are at present furnished with by the French and English traders, though Indians have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impositions fraud and knavery can contrive to enhance their value, will not industrious English farmers, hereafter settled in those countries, be much better able to pay for what shall be brought them in the way of fair commerce?

If it is asked, What can such farmers raise, wherewith to pay for the manufactures they may want from

[1] From New York into Lake Ontario, the land-carriage of the several portages altogether amounts to but about twenty-seven miles. From Lake Ontario into Lake Erie, the land-carriage at Niagara is but about twelve miles. All the lakes above Niagara communicate by navigable straits, so that no land-carriage is necessary to go out of one into another. From Presqu' Isle on Lake Erie there are but fifteen miles land-carriage, and that a good wagon-road, to Beef River, a branch of the Ohio, which brings you into a navigation of many thousand miles inland, if you take together the Ohio, the Mississippi, and all the great rivers and branches that run into them.—F.

us? I answer, that the inland parts of America in question are well known to be fitted for the production of hemp, flax, potash, and, above all, silk; the southern parts may produce olive oil, raisins, currants, indigo, and cochineal; not to mention horses and black cattle, which may easily be driven to the maritime markets, and at the same time assist in conveying other commodities. That the commodities first mentioned may easily, by water and land carriage, be brought to the sea-ports from interior America, will not seem incredible, when we reflect that *hemp* formerly came from the Ukraine, the most southern parts of Russia, to Wologda, and down the Dwina to Archangel; and thence, by a perilous navigation, round the North Cape to England and other parts of Europe. It now comes from the same country up the Dnieper, and down the Duna, with much land-carriage. Great part of the Russian *iron*, no high-priced commodity, is brought three hundred miles by land and water from the heart of Siberia. *Furs* (the produce too of America) are brought to Amsterdam from all parts of Siberia, even the most remote—Kamtschatka. The same country furnishes me with another instance of extended inland commerce.

It is found worth while to keep up a mercantile communication between Pekin in China and Petersburg. And none of these instances of inland commerce exceed those of the courses by which, at several periods, *the whole of the trade of the East* was carried on. Before the prosperity of the Mameluke dominion in Egypt fixed the staple for the riches

of the East at Cairo and Alexandria (whither they were brought from the Red Sea), great part of those commodities were carried to the cities of Cashgar and Balk. This gave birth to those towns, that still subsist upon the remains of their ancient opulence, amidst a people and country equally wild. From thence those goods were carried down the Amû (the ancient Oxus) to the Caspian Sea, and up the Wolga to Astrachan; from whence they were carried over to and down the Don, to the mouth of that river; and thence again the Venetians directly, and the Genoese and Venetians indirectly, by way of Kaffa and Trebisond, dispersed them through the Mediterranean and some other parts of Europe.

Another part of those goods was carried over land from the Wolga to the rivers Duna and Neva; from both they were carried to the city of Wisbuy in the Baltic (so eminent for its sea-laws); and from the city of Ladoga on the Neva, we are told, they were even carried by the Dwina to Archangel; and from thence round the North Cape. If iron and hemp will bear the charge of carriage from this inland country, other metals will, as well as iron; and certainly silk, since three pence per pound is not above one per cent. on the value, and amounts to twenty-eight pounds per ton. If the *growths* of a country find their way out of it, the *manufactures* of the country where they go will infallibly find their way into it.

They who understand the economy and principles of manufactures, know that it is impossible to estab-

lish them in places not populous; and, even in those that are populous, hardly possible to establish them to the prejudice of the places *already in possession of them.* Several attempts have been made in France and Spain, countenanced by government, to draw from us, and establish in those countries, our hardware and woollen manufactures, but without success.

The reasons are various. A manufacture is part of a great system of commerce, which takes in conveniences of various kinds: methods of providing materials of all sorts, machines for expediting and facilitating labor, all the channels of correspondence for vending the wares, the credit and confidence necessary to found and support this correspondence, the mutual aid of different artisans, and a thousand other particulars which time and long experience have gradually established. A part of such a system cannot support itself without the whole; and before the whole can be obtained the part perishes. Manufactures, where they are in perfection, are carried on by multiplicity of hands, each of which is expert only in his own part; no one of them a master of the whole; and, if by any means spirited away to a foreign country, he is lost without his fellows. Then it is a matter of the extremest difficulty to persuade a complete set of workmen, skilled in all parts of a manufactory, to leave their country together, and settle in a foreign land. Some of the idle and drunken may be enticed away; but these only disappoint their employers, and serve to discourage the undertaking. If by royal munificence, and an expense that the profits of the

trade alone would not bear, a complete set of good and skilful hands are collected and carried over, they find so much of the system imperfect, so many things wanting to carry on the trade to advantage, so many difficulties to overcome, and the knot of hands so easily broken by death, dissatisfaction, and desertion, that they and their employers are discouraged together, and the project vanishes into smoke.

Hence it happens that established manufactures are hardly ever lost, but by foreign conquest, or by some eminent interior fault in manners or government—a bad police oppressing and discouraging the workmen, or religious persecutions driving the sober and industrious out of the country. There is, in short, scarce a single instance in history of the contrary, where manufactures have once taken firm root. They sometimes start up in a new place; but are generally supported, like exotic plants, at more expense than they are worth for any thing but curiosity, until these new seats become the refuge of the manufacturers driven from the old ones.

The conquest of Constantinople, and final reduction of the Greek empire, dispersed many curious manufacturers into different parts of Christendom. The former conquests of its provinces had before done the same. The loss of liberty in Verona, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Pistoia, and other great cities of Italy, drove the manufacturers of woollen cloths into Spain and Flanders. The latter first lost their trade and manufactures to Antwerp and the cities of Brabant; from whence, by persecution for religion, they were sent

into Holland and England; while the civil wars, during the minority of Charles the First of Spain, which ended in the loss of the liberty of their great towns, ended too in the loss of the manufactures of Toledo, Segovia, Salamanca, Medina del Compo, &c. The revocation of the *Edict of Nantz* communicated to all the Protestant part of Europe the paper, silk, and other valuable manufactures of France, almost peculiar at that time to that country, and till then in vain attempted elsewhere.

To be convinced, that it is not soil and climate, nor even freedom from taxes, that determines the residence of manufactures, we need only turn our eyes on Holland, where a multitude of manufactures are still carried on, perhaps more than on the same extent of territory anywhere in Europe, and sold on terms upon which they cannot be had in any other part of the world. And this too is true of those *growths* which by their nature and the labor required to raise them come the nearest to manufactures.

As to the commonplace objection to the North American settlements, that they are *in the same climate, and their produce the same, as that of England:* In the first place, it is not true; it is particularly not so of the countries now likely to be added to our settlements; and of our present colonies, the products—lumber, tobacco, rice, and indigo, great articles of commerce—do not interfere with the products of England. In the next place, a man must know very little of the trade of the world, who does not know that the greater part of it is carried on between countries

whose climates differ very little. Even the trade between the different parts of these British Islands is greatly superior to that between England and all the West India Islands put together.

If I have been successful in proving that a considerable commerce may and will subsist between us and our future most inland settlements in North America, notwithstanding their distance, I have more than half proved that no *other inconveniency will arise* from their distance. Many men in such a country must "know," must "think," and must "care" about the country they chiefly trade with. The juridical and other connexions of government are yet a faster hold than even commercial ties, and spread, directly and indirectly, far and wide. Business to be solicited and causes depending create a great intercourse, even where private property is not divided in different countries; yet this division will always subsist where different countries are ruled by the same government. Where a man has landed property both in the mother country and the province, he will almost always live in the mother country. This, though there were no trade, is singly a sufficient gain. It is said that Ireland pays near a million sterling annually to its absentees in England. The balance of trade from Spain, or even Portugal, is scarcely equal to this.

Let it not be said we have *no absentees* from North America. There are many, to the writer's knowledge; and if there are at present but few of them that distinguish themselves here by great expense, it is owing to the mediocrity of fortune among the inhabi-

tants of the northern colonies, and a more equal division of landed property than in the West India Islands, so that there are as yet but few large estates. But if those who have such estates reside upon and take care of them themselves, are they worse subjects than they would be if they lived idly in England?

Great merit is assumed for the gentlemen of the West Indies,[1] on the score of their residing and spending their money in England. I would not depreciate that merit,—it is considerable; for they might, if they pleased, spend their money in France; but the difference between their spending it here and at home is not so great. What do they spend it in when they are here, but the produce and manufactures of this country? and would they not do the same if they were at home? Is it of any great importance to the English farmer, whether the West India gentleman comes to London and eats his beef, pork, and tongues, fresh, or has them brought to him in the West Indies, salted? Whether he eats his English cheese and butter, or drinks his English ale, at London or in Barbadoes? Is the clothier's, or the mercer's, or the cutler's, or the toyman's profit less, for their goods being worn and consumed by the same persons residing on the other side of the ocean? Would not the profits of the merchant and mariner be rather greater, and some addition made to our navigation, ships, and seamen? If the North American gentleman stays in his own country, and lives there in that degree of luxury and expense, with

[1] *Remarks*, pp. 47, 48, &c.

regard to the use of British manufactures, that his fortune enables him to do, may not his example, from the imitation of superiors so natural to mankind, spread the use of those manufactures among hundreds of families around him, and occasion a much greater demand for them than it would do if he should remove and live in London?

However this may be, if, in our views of immediate advantage, it seems preferable that the gentlemen of large fortunes in North America should reside much in England, it is what may surely be expected, as fast as such fortunes are acquired there. Their having "colleges of their own for the education of their youth," will not prevent it. A little knowledge and learning acquired increases the appetite for more, and will make the conversation of the learned on this side the water more strongly desired. Ireland has its university likewise; yet this does not prevent the immense pecuniary benefit we receive from that kingdom. And there will always be, in the conveniences of life, the politeness, the pleasures, the magnificence of the reigning country, many other attractions besides those of learning, to draw men of substance there, where they can, apparently at least, have the best bargain of happiness for their money.

Our trade to the West India Islands is undoubtedly a valuable one; but whatever is the amount of it, it has long been at a stand. Limited as our sugar planters are by the scantiness of territory, they cannot increase much beyond their present number; and this is an evil, as I shall show hereafter, that will be little helped by our keeping Guadaloupe.

The trade to our northern colonies is not only greater, but yearly increasing with the increase of the people; and even in a greater proportion, as the people increase in wealth and the ability of spending, as well as in numbers.[1] I have already said, that our

[1] The writer has obtained accounts of the exports to North America and the West India Islands, by which it appears that there has been some increase of trade to those Islands, as well as to North America, though in a much less degree. The following extract from these accounts will show the reader, at one view, the amount of the exports to each, in two different terms of five years; the terms taken at ten years' distance from each other, to show the increase, viz.:

*First term, from 1744 to 1748, inclusive.*

| | Northern Colonies. | | | West India Islands. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1744 | £640,114 | 12 | 4 | £796,112 | 17 | 9 |
| 1745 | 534,316 | 2 | 5 | 503,669 | 19 | 9 |
| 1746 | 754,945 | 4 | 3 | 472,994 | 16 | 7 |
| 1747 | 726,648 | 5 | 5 | 856,463 | 18 | 6 |
| 1748 | 830,243 | 16 | 9 | 734,095 | 15 | 3 |
| Total, | £3,486,268 | 1 | 2 | 3,363,337 | 10 | 10 |
| | | | | Difference, 122,930 | 10 | 4 |
| | | | | £3,486,268 | 1 | 2 |

*Second term, from 1754 to 1758, inclusive.*

| | Northern Colonies. | | | West India Islands. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1754 | £ 1,246,615 | 1 | 11 | £685,675 | 3 | 0 |
| 1755 | 1,177,848 | 6 | 10 | 694,667 | 13 | 3 |
| 1756 | 1,428,720 | 18 | 10 | 733,458 | 16 | 3 |
| 1757 | 1,727,924 | 2 | 10 | 776,488 | 0 | 6 |
| 1758 | 1,832,948 | 13 | 10 | 877,571 | 19 | 11 |
| Total, | £7,414,057 | 4 | 3 | 3,767,841 | 12 | 11 |
| | | | | Difference, 3,646,215 | 11 | 4 |
| | | | | £7,414,057 | 4 | 3 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In the first term, total of West India Islands, | £3,363,337 | 10 | 10 |
| In the second term, ditto . . . . | 3,767,841 | 12 | 11 |
| Increase, only | £ 404,504 | 2 | 1 |
| In the first term, total for the northern colonies, | 3,486,268 | 1 | 2 |
| In the second term, ditto . . . . | 7,414,057 | 4 | 3 |
| Increase, | £3,927,789 | 3 | 1 |

By these accounts it appears that the exports to the West India Islands, and to the northern colonies, were in the first term nearly equal (the difference being only £ 122,930 10*s.* 4*d.*), and in the second term, the exports to those islands had only increased £404,504 2*s.* 1*d.* Whereas the increase to the northern colonies is £3,927,789 3*s.* 1*d.*, almost *four millions.*

Some part of this increased demand for English goods may be ascribed to the armies and fleets we have had both in North America and the West Indies; and so much for what is con-

Certain discrepancies in the above figures are hereby given as originally printed.—EDITOR.

people in the northern colonies double in about twenty-five years, exclusive of the accession of strangers. That I speak within bounds, I appeal to the authentic accounts frequently required by the Board of Trade, and transmitted to that Board by the respective governors; of which accounts I shall select one as a sample, being that from the colony of Rhode Island;[1] a colony that of all the others receives the least addition from strangers. For the increase of our trade to those colonies, I refer to the accounts frequently laid before Parliament by the officers of the customs, and to the custom-house books; from which I have also selected one account, that of the trade from England, exclusive of Scotland, to Pennsylvania[2]; a colo-

sumed by the soldiery; their clothing, stores, ammunition, &c., sent from hence on account of the government, being (as is supposed) not included in these accounts of merchandise exported; but, as the war has occasioned a great plenty of money in America, many of the inhabitants have increased their expense.

N. B.—These accounts do not include any exports from Scotland to America, which are doubtless proportionably considerable; nor the exports from Ireland.—F.

[1] *Copy of the Report of Governor Hopkins to the Board of Trade, on the Numbers of People in Rhode Island.*

In obedience to your Lordship's commands, I have caused the within account to be taken by officers under oath. By it there appears to be in this colony at this time 35,939 white persons, and 4,697 blacks, chiefly negroes.

In the year 1730, by order of the then Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, and then there appeared to be 15,302 white persons, and 2,633 blacks.

Again in the year 1748, by like order, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, by which it appears that there were at that time 29,755 white persons and 4,373 blacks.

STEPHEN HOPKINS.

*Colony of Rhode Island, Dec. 24, 1755.*

[2] *An Account of the Value of the Exports from England to Pennsylvania in one Year, taken at different Periods, viz.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1723 they amounted only to | £15,992 | 19 | 4 |
| 1730 they were . . . | 48,592 | 7 | 5 |
| 1737 . . . . . | 56,690 | 6 | 7 |
| 1742 . . . . . | 75,295 | 3 | 4 |
| 1747 . . . . . | 82,404 | 17 | 7 |
| 1752 . . . . . | 201,666 | 19 | 11 |
| 1757 . . . . . | 268,426 | 6 | 6 |

N. B.—The accounts for 1758 and 1759 were not then completed; but those acquainted with the North American trade know that the increase

ny most remarkable for the plain, frugal manner of living of its inhabitants, and the most suspected of carrying on manufactures, on account of the number of German artisans who are known to have transplanted themselves into that country; though even these, in truth, when they come there, generally apply themselves to agriculture, as the surest support and most advantageous employment.

By this account it appears, that the exports to that province have, in twenty-eight years, increased nearly in the proportion of seventeen to one; whereas the people themselves, who by other authentic accounts appear to double their numbers (the strangers who settle there included) in about sixteen years, cannot in the twenty-eight years have increased in a greater proportion than as four to one. The additional demand, then, and consumption of goods from England, of thirteen parts in seventeen, more than the additional number would require, must be owing to this: that the people, having by their industry mended their circumstances, are enabled to indulge themselves in finer clothes, better furniture, and a more general use of all our manufactures than heretofore.

In fact, the occasion for English goods in North America, and the inclination to have and use them, is, and must be for ages to come, much greater than the ability of the people to pay for them; they must

in those two years had been in a still greater proportion, the last year being supposed to exceed any former year by a third; and this owing to the increased ability of the people to spend, from the greater quantities of money circulating among them by the war.

therefore, as they now do, deny themselves many things they would otherwise choose to have, or increase their industry to obtain them. And thus, if they should at any time manufacture some coarse article, which, on account of its bulk or some other circumstance, cannot so well be brought to them from Britain, it only enables them the better to pay for finer goods, that otherwise they could not indulge themselves in; so that the exports thither are not diminished by such manufacture, but rather increased. The single article of manufacture in these colonies, mentioned by the Remarker, is *hats* made in New England. It is true, there have been, ever since the first settlement of that country, a few hatters there, drawn thither probably at first by the facility of getting beaver, while the woods were but little cleared, and there was plenty of those animals. The case is greatly altered now. The beaver skins are not now to be had in New England, but from very remote places and at great prices. The trade is accordingly declining there; so that, far from being able to make hats in any quantity for exportation, they cannot supply their home demand; and it is well known that some thousand dozens are sent thither yearly from London, Bristol, and Liverpool, and sold cheaper than the inhabitants can make them of equal goodness.

In fact, the colonies are so little suited for establishing of manufacture, that they are continually losing the few branches they accidentally gain. The working braziers, cutlers, and pewterers, as well as

hatters, who have happened to go over from time to time and settle in the colonies, gradually drop the working part of their business, and import their respective goods from England, whence they can have them cheaper and better than they can make them. They continue their shops indeed, in the same way of dealing; but become *sellers* of braziery, cutlery, pewter, hats, &c., brought from England, instead of being *makers* of those goods.

5. *The American Colonies not dangerous in their Nature to Great Britain.*

Thus much as to the apprehension of our colonies becoming useless to us. I shall next consider the other supposition, that their growth may render them *dangerous.* Of this, I own, I have not the least conception, when I consider that we have already *fourteen separate governments* on the maritime coast of the continent; and, if we extend our settlements, shall probably have as many more behind them on the inland side. Those we now have are not only under different governors, but have different forms of government, different laws, different interests, and some of them different religious persuasions and different manners.

Their jealousy of each other is so great, that however necessary a union of the colonies has long been, for their common defence and security against their enemies, and how sensible soever each colony has been of that necessity, yet they have never been able to effect such a union among themselves, nor

even to agree in requesting the mother country to establish it for them. Nothing but the immediate command of the crown has been able to produce even the imperfect union, but lately seen there, of the forces of some colonies. If they could not agree to unite for their defence against the French and Indians, who were perpetually harassing their settlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people, can it reasonably be supposed there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have so many connexions and ties of blood, interest, and affection, and which, it is well known, they all love much more than they love one another?

In short, there are so many causes that must operate to prevent it, that I will venture to say a union amongst them for such a purpose is not merely improbable, it is impossible. And if the union of the whole is impossible, the attempt of a part must be madness, as those colonies that did not join the rebellion would join the mother country in suppressing it. When I say such a union is impossible, I mean without the most grievous tyranny and oppression. People who have property in a country which they may lose, and privileges which they may endanger, are generally disposed to be quiet, and even to bear much, rather than hazard all. While the government is mild and just, while important civil and religious rights are secure, such subjects will be dutiful and obedient. *The waves do not rise but when the winds blow.*

What such an administration as the Duke of Alva's in the Netherlands might produce, I know not; but this, I think, I have a right to deem impossible. And yet there were two very manifest differences between that case and ours; and both are in our favor. The first, that Spain had already united the seventeen provinces under one visible government, though the States continued independent; the second, that the inhabitants of those provinces were of a nation, not only different from, but utterly unlike the Spaniards. Had the Netherlands been peopled from Spain, the worst of oppression had probably not provoked them to wish a separation of government. It might, and probably would, have ruined the country; but never would have produced an independent sovereignty. In fact, neither the very worst of governments, the worst of politics in the last century, nor the total abolition of their remaining liberty, in the provinces of Spain itself, in the present, have produced any independency in Spain that could be supported. The same may be observed of France.

And let it not be said that the neighbourhood of these to the seat of government has prevented a separation. While our strength at sea continues, the banks of the Ohio, in point of easy and expeditious conveyance of troops, are nearer to London than the remote parts of France and Spain to their respective capitals, and much nearer than Connaught and Ulster were in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Nobody foretells the dissolution of the Russian monarchy from its extent; yet I will venture to say the eastern parts of

it are already much more inaccessible from Petersburg than the country on the Mississippi is from London,—I mean, more men, in less time, might be conveyed to the latter than the former distance. The rivers Oby, Jenessa, and Lena do not facilitate the communication half so well by their course, nor are they half so practicable as the American rivers. To this I shall only add the observation of Machiavel, in his *Prince*: that a government seldom long preserves its dominion over those who are foreigners to it; who, on the other hand, fall with great ease, and continue inseparably annexed to the government of their own nation; which he proves by the fate of the English conquests in France. Yet with all these disadvantages, so difficult is it to overturn an established government, that it was not without the assistance of France and England that the United Provinces supported themselves; which teaches us that—

6. *The French remaining in Canada, an Encouragement to Disaffections in the British Colonies. If they prove a Check, that Check of the most barbarous Nature—*

if the visionary danger of independence in our colonies is to be feared, nothing is more likely to render it substantial than the neighbourhood of foreigners at enmity with the sovereign governments, capable of giving either aid,[1] or an asylum, as the event shall re-

[1] The *aid* Dr. Franklin alludes to must probably have consisted in early and full supplies of arms, officers, intelligence, and trade of export and of import, through the river St. Lawrence, on risks both public and private; in the encouragement of splendid promises and a great ally; in the passage from Canada to the back settlements being *shut* to the British

quire. Yet against even these disadvantages, did Spain preserve almost ten provinces, merely through their want of union ; which, indeed, could never have taken place among the others, but for causes, some of which are in our case impossible, and others it is impious to suppose possible.

The Romans well understood that policy, which teaches the security arising to the chief government from separate States among the governed, when they restored the liberties of the States of Greece (oppressed but united under Macedon) by an edict that every State should live under its own laws.[1] They did not even name a governor. Independence of each other and separate interests (though among a people united by common manners, language, and I may say religion ; inferior neither in wisdom, bravery, nor their love of liberty to the Romans themselves) were all the security the sovereigns wished for their sovereignty.

It is true, they did not call themselves sovereigns ;

forces ; in the quiet of the great body of Indians ; in the support of emissaries and discontented citizens ; in loans and subsidies to Congress, in ways profitable to France ; in a refuge to be granted them in case of defeat, in vacant lands, as settlers ; in the probability of war commencing earlier between England and France, at the Gulf of St. Lawrence (when the shipping taken were rightfully addressed to Frenchmen) than in the present case. All this might have happened, as soon as America's distaste of England had exceeded the fear of the foreign nation ; a circumstance frequently seen possible in history, and which the British ministers took care should not be wanting.

This explanation would have been superfluous, had not the opinion been very general in England, that *had not the French been removed from Canada, the revolt of America never would have taken place.* Why, then, were the French *not left* in Canada at the peace of 1763 ? Or, since they were not left there, why was the American dispute begun ? Yet, in one sense, perhaps this opinion is true ; for *had* the French been left in Canada, the English ministers would not only have sooner felt, but sooner have seen, the strange fatality of their plans.—B. V.

[1] "Omnes Græcorum civitates, quæ in Europâ, quæque in Asiâ essent, libertatem ac suas leges haberent," etc.—Liv., lib. xxxiii., cap. 30.

they set no value on the title; they were contented with possessing the thing. And possess it they did, even without a standing army. What can be a stronger proof of the security of their possession? And yet, by a policy similar to this throughout, was the Roman world subdued and held, a world composed of above a hundred languages and sets of manners, different from those of their masters.[1] Yet this dominion was unshakable, till the loss of liberty and corruption of manners in the sovereign State overturned it.

But what is the prudent policy inculcated by the Remarker to obtain this end—security of dominion over our colonies? It is, to leave the French in Canada to "check" their growth; for otherwise, our people may "increase infinitely from all causes."[2] We have already seen in what manner the French and their Indians check the growth of our colonies, It is a modest word, this *check*, for massacring men, women, and children! The writer would, if he could, hide from himself, as well as from the public, the horror arising from such a proposal, by couching

[1] When the Romans had subdued Macedon and Illyricum, they were both formed into republics by a decree of the Senate, and Macedon was thought safe from the danger of a revolution, by being divided into a division common among the Romans, as we learn from the tetrarchs in Scripture. "Omnium primum liberos esse placebat Macedonas atque Illyrios; ut omnibus gentibus appareret, arma populi Romani non liberis servitutem, sed contra servientibus libertatem afferre; ut et in libertate gentes quæ essent, tutam eam sibi perpetuamque sub tutelâ populi Romani esse; et, quæ sub regibus viverent, et in presens tempus mitiores eos justioresque respectu populi Romani habere se, et, si quando bellum cum populo Romano regibus fuisset suis, exitum ejus victoriam Romanis, sibi libertatem, allaturum crederent. . . . In quatuor regiones describi Macedoniam, ut suum quæque concilium haberet, placuit; et dimidium tributi, quàm quod regibus ferre soliti erant, populo Romano pendere. Similia his et in Illyricum mandata."—Liv., lib. xlv., cap. 18.

[2] *Remarks*, pp. 50, 51.

it in general terms. It is no wonder he thought it a "subject not fit for discussion" in his letter, though he recommends it as "a point that should be the constant object of the minister's attention!"

But if Canada is restored on this principle, will not Britain be guilty of all the blood to be shed, all the murders to be committed, in order to check this dreaded growth of our own people? Will not this be telling the French in plain terms, that the horrid barbarities they perpetrate with Indians on our colonists are agreeable to us; and that they need not apprehend the resentment of a government with whose views they so happily concur? Will not the colonies view it in this light? Will they have reason to consider themselves any longer as subjects and children, when they find their cruel enemies hallooed upon them by the country from whence they sprung; the government that owes them protection, as it requires their obedience? Is not this the most likely means of driving them into the arms of the French, who can invite them by an offer of security their own government chooses not to afford them? I would not be thought to insinuate that the Remarker wants humanity. I know how little many good-natured persons are affected by the distresses of people at a distance, and whom they do not know. There are even those who, being present, can sympathize sincerely with the grief of a lady on the sudden death of a favorite bird, and yet can read of the sinking of a city in Syria with very little concern.

If it be, after all, thought necessary to check the

growth of our colonies, give me leave to propose a method less cruel. It is a method of which we have an example in Scripture. The murder of husbands, of wives, of brothers, sisters, and children, whose pleasing society has been for some time enjoyed, affects deeply the respective surviving relations; but grief for the death of a child just born is short and easily supported. The method I mean is that which was dictated by the Egyptian policy, when the "infinite increase" of the children of Israel was apprehended as dangerous to the State.[1] Let an act of Parliament then be made, enjoining the colony midwives to stifle in the birth every third or fourth child. By this means you may keep the colonies to their present size. And if they were under the hard alternative of submitting to one or the other of these schemes for checking their growth, I dare answer for them, they would prefer the latter.

But all the debate about the propriety or impropriety of keeping or restoring Canada is possibly too early. We have taken the capital indeed, but the country is yet far from being in our possession; and perhaps never will be; for, if our ministers are persuaded by such counsellors as the Remarker, that the French there are "not the worst of neighbours," and that, if we had conquered Canada, we ought, for our own sakes, to restore it, as a check to the growth of

[1] "And Pharaoh said unto his people: Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. And the king spake to the Hebrew midwives," etc.—Exodus, ch. i.

our colonies, I am then afraid we shall never take it. For there are many ways of avoiding the completion of the conquest, that will be less exceptionable and less odious than the giving it up.

### 7. *Canada easily peopled without draining Great Britain of any of its Inhabitants.*

The objection I have often heard, that, if we had Canada, we could not people it without draining Britain of its inhabitants, is founded on ignorance of the nature of population in new countries. When we first began to colonize in America, it was necessary to send people, and to send seed-corn ; but it is not now necessary that we should furnish, for a new colony, either the one or the other. The annual increment alone of our present colonies, without diminishing their numbers, or requiring a man from hence, is sufficient in ten years to fill Canada with double the number of English that it now has of French inhabitants.[1] Those who are Protestants among the French will probably choose to remain under the English government ; many will choose to remove, if they can be allowed to sell their lands, improvements, and effects ; the rest in that thin-settled country will in less than half a century, from the crowds of English settling round and among them, be blended and incorporated with our people both in language and manners.

[1] In fact, there have not gone from Britain itself to our colonies, these twenty years past, to settle there, so many as ten families a year ; the new settlers are either the offspring of the old, or emigrants from Germany or the north of Ireland.

8. *The Merits of Guadaloupe to Great Britain overvalued, yet likely to be paid much dearer for, than Canada.*

In Guadaloupe the case is somewhat different; and though I am far from thinking[1] we have sugar-land enough,[2] I cannot think Guadaloupe is so desirable an increase of it, as other objects the enemy would probably be infinitely more ready to part with. A country, fully inhabited by any nation, is no proper possession for another of different languages, manners, and religion. It is hardly ever tenable at less expense than it is worth. But the isle of Cayenne, and its appendix, Equinoctial France, having but very few inhabitants, and these therefore easily removed, would indeed be an acquisition every way suitable to our situation and desires. This would hold all that migrate from Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, or Jamaica. It would certainly recall into an English government, in which there would be room for millions, all who have before settled or purchased in Martinico, Guadaloupe, Santa Cruz, or St. John's; except such as know not the value of an English government, and such I am sure are not worth recalling,

But should we keep Guadaloupe, we are told it

[1] *Remarks*, pp. 30, 34.

[2] It is often said, we have plenty of sugar-land still unemployed in Jamaica; but those who are well acquainted with that island know that the remaining vacant land in it is generally situated among mountains, rocks, and gullies, that make carriage impracticable, so that no profitable use can be made of it; unless the price of sugars should so greatly increase, as to enable the planter to make very expensive roads, by blowing up rocks, erecting bridges, &c., every two or three hundred yards.

would enable us to export £300,000 in sugars. Admit it to be true, though perhaps the amazing increase of English consumption might stop most of it here; to whose profit is this to redound? To the profit of the French inhabitants of the island; except a small part, that should fall to the share of the English purchasers, but whose whole purchase-money must first be added to the wealth and circulation of France. I grant, however, much of this £300,000 would be expended in British manufactures. Perhaps, too, a few of the land-owners of Guadaloupe might dwell and spend their fortunes in Britain, though probably much fewer than of the inhabitants of North America. I admit the advantage arising to us from these circumstances, as far as they go, in the case of Guadaloupe, as well as in that of our other West India settlements. Yet even this consumption is little better than that of an allied nation would be, who should take our manufactures and supply us with sugar, and put us to no great expense in defending the place of growth.

But, though our own colonies expend among us almost the whole produce of our sugar,[1] can we, or ought we to promise ourselves this will be the case of Guadaloupe? One £100,000 will supply them with British manufactures; and supposing we can effectually prevent the introduction of those of France, which is morally impossible in a country used to them, the other £200,000 will still be spent in France, in the education of their children and sup-

[1] *Remarks*, p. 47.

port of themselves; or else be laid up there, where they will always think their home to be.

Besides this consumption of British manufactures, much is said of the benefit we shall have from the situation of Guadaloupe; and we are told of a trade to the Caraccas and Spanish Main. In what respect Guadaloupe is better situated for this trade than Jamaica, or even our other islands, I am at a loss to guess. I believe it to be not so well situated for that of the Windward coast, as Tobago and St. Lucia; which in this, as well as other respects, would be more valuable possessions, and which, I doubt not, the peace will secure to us. Nor is it nearly so well situated for that of the rest of the Spanish Main as Jamaica. As to the greater safety of our trade by the possession of Guadaloupe, experience has convinced us that in reducing a single island, or even more, we stop the privateering business but little. Privateers still subsist, in equal if not greater numbers, and carry the vessels into Martinico, which before it was more convenient to carry into Guadaloupe. Had we all the Caribbees, it is true, they would in those parts be without shelter.

Yet, upon the whole, I suppose it to be a doubtful point, and well worth consideration, whether our obtaining possession of all the Caribbees would be more than a temporary benefit; as it would necessarily soon fill the French part of Hispaniola with French inhabitants, and thereby render it five times more valuable in time of peace, and little less than impregnable in time of war, and would probably end

in a few years in the uniting the whole of that great and fertile island under a French government. It is agreed on all hands, that our conquest of St. Christopher's, and driving the French from thence, first furnished Hispaniola with skilful and substantial planters, and was consequently the first occasion of its present opulence. On the other hand, I will hazard an opinion, that, valuable as the French possessions in the West Indies are, and undeniable as the advantages they derive from them, there is somewhat to be weighed in the opposite scale. They cannot at present make war with England, without exposing those advantages, while divided among the numerous islands they now have, much more than they would were they possessed of St. Domingo only; their own share of which would, if well cultivated, grow more sugar than is now grown in all their West India Islands.

I have before said I do not deny the utility of the conquest, or even of our future possession, of Guadaloupe, if not bought too dear. The trade of the West Indies is one of our most valuable trades. Our possessions there deserve our greatest care and attention. So do those of North America. I shall not enter into the invidious task of comparing their due estimation. It would be a very long and a very disagreeable one, to run through every thing material on this head. It is enough to our present point, if I have shown that the value of North America is capable of an immense increase, by an acquisition and measures that must necessarily have an effect

the direct contrary of what we have been industriously taught to fear; and that Guadaloupe is, in point of advantage, but a very small addition to our West India possessions; rendered many ways less valuable to us than it is to the French, who will probably set more value upon it than upon a country [Canada] that is much more valuable to us than to them.

There is a great deal more to be said on all the parts of these subjects; but as it would carry me into a detail that I fear would tire the patience of my readers, and which I am not without apprehensions I have done already, I shall reserve what remains till I dare venture again on the indulgence of the public.[1]

## CXCI.

### TO LORD KAMES.

COVENTRY, 27 September, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD:—We are here upon a journey, which when first proposed was to have extended farther than the season will now permit. We designed going over to Ireland, and, having made the tour of that country, we were to have crossed from its northern part to Dumfries, or some other port on your coast, which would have given us the pleasing opportunity of seeing once more our friends in Scotland. This, if we could have left London early in the summer; but the litigation between our province and its

[1] Dr. Franklin is reported to have said that in writing this pamphlet he received considerable assistance from a learned friend, who, it is stated, on the authority of William T. Franklin, was Richard Jackson.

Proprietor, in which we were engaged, confined us in London till the middle of this month. That cause is indeed at length ended, and in a great degree to our satisfaction; but, by its continuing so long, we are disappointed in our hopes of spending some more happy days at Kames with you and your amiable family.

I do not pretend to charge this to your account as a letter. It is rather to acknowledge myself in your debt, and to promise payment. It is some time since I received your obliging favor of June last. When I return to London, which we intend after seeing Cheshire, Wales, Bristol, and spending some time at Bath, I hope to be a more punctual correspondent. I am your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—Our thanks to Lady Kames for the receipt. Enclosed we send the *Chapter*.[1]

## CXCII.

### TO DAVID HUME.

COVENTRY, 27 September, 1760.

DEAR SIR:—I have too long postponed answering your obliging letter, a fault I will not attempt to excuse, but rather rely on your goodness to forgive it, if I am more punctual for the future.

I am obliged to you for the favorable sentiments you express of the pieces sent to you; though the

[1] This "Chapter" was the "Parable against Persecution," first published by Lord Kames.

volume relating to our Pennsylvania affairs was not written by me, nor any part of it, except the remarks on the Proprietor's estimate of his estate, and some of the inserted messages and reports of the Assembly, which I wrote when at home, as a member of committees appointed by the House for that service. The rest was by another hand.[1]

But though I am satisfied, by what you say, that the Duke of Bedford was hearty in the scheme of the expedition, I am not so clear that others in the administration were equally in earnest in that matter. It is certain, that after the Duke of Newcastle's first orders to raise troops in the colonies, and promise to send over commissions to the officers, with arms and clothing for the men, we never had another syllable from him for eighteen months; during all which time the army lay idle at Albany for want of orders and necessaries; and it began to be thought at last that, if an expedition had ever been intended, the first design and the orders given must, through the multiplicity of business here at home, have been quite forgotten.[2]

I am not a little pleased to hear of your change of sentiments in some particulars relating to America; because I think it of importance to our general welfare, that the people of this nation should have right

[1] The treatise here mentioned is probably the "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania," which has hitherto been published in the various editions of Franklin's works as from his pen. This letter to Hume removes all doubt that it was from another hand, though there is no doubt that Franklin encouraged and contributed to the expense of its publication.—EDITOR.

[2] This was the expedition projected against Canada in the year 1746.

notions of us, and I know no one that has it more in his power to rectify their notions than Mr. Hume. I have lately read with great pleasure, as I do every thing of yours, the excellent Essay on the *Jealousy of Commerce.* I think it cannot but have a good effect in promoting a certain interest, too little thought of by selfish man, and scarcely ever mentioned, so that we hardly have a name for it; I mean the *interest of humanity*, or common good of mankind. But, I hope, particularly from that Essay, an abatement of the jealousy, that reigns here, of the commerce of the colonies, at least so far as such abatement may be reasonable.

I thank you for your friendly admonition relating to some unusual words in the pamphlet. It will be of service to me. The "*pejorate,*" and the "*colonize,*" since they are not in common use here, I give up as bad; for certainly in writings intended for persuasion and for general information, one cannot be too clear; and every expression in the least obscure is a fault. The "*unshakeable*" too, though clear, I give up as rather low. The introducing new words, where we are already possessed of old ones sufficiently expressive, I confess must be generally wrong, as it tends to change the language; yet, at the same time, I cannot but wish the usage of our tongue permitted making new words, when we want them, by composition of old ones whose meanings are already well understood. The German allows of it, and it is a common practice with their writers. Many of our present English words were originally so made; and many of the Latin words. In point of clearness,

such compound words would have the advantage of any we can borrow from the ancient or from foreign languages. For instance, the word *inaccessible*, though long in use among us, is not yet, I dare say, so universally understood by our people, as the word *uncomeatable* would immediately be, which we are not allowed to write. But I hope, with you, that we shall always in America make the best English of this Island our standard, and I believe it will be so. I assure you it often gives me pleasure to reflect how greatly the *audience* (if I may so term it) of a good English writer will, in another century or two, be increased by the increase of English people in our colonies.

My son presents his respects with mine to you and Dr. Monro. We received your printed circular letter to the members of the Society,[1] and purpose some time next winter to send each of us a little philosophical essay. With the greatest esteem, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

## CXCIII.

TO JOHN BASKERVILLE.[2]

CRAVEN STREET, LONDON, 1760.

DEAR SIR :—Let me give you a pleasant instance of the prejudice some have entertained against your

[1] A Philosophical Society lately established at Edinburgh.

[2] John Baskerville, a celebrated English printer, was born in the year 1706. He inherited a small estate, and occupied himself for several years in teaching a school at Birmingham. Possessing a taste for painting, he entered into a lucrative branch of japanning, in which business he continued for life, and acquired by it a fortune, which made him independent. In the year 1750 he turned his thoughts towards an improvement in

work. Soon after I returned, discoursing with a gentleman concerning the artists of Birmingham, he said you would be a means of blinding all the readers in the nation; for the strokes of your letters, being too thin and narrow, hurt the eye, and he could never read a line of them without pain. "I thought," said I, "you were going to complain of the gloss of the paper, some object to." "No, no," says he, "I have heard that mentioned, but it is not that; it is in the form and cut of the letters themselves; they have not that height and thickness of the stroke, which make the common printing so much the more comfortable to the eye." You see this gentleman was a *connoisseur*. In vain I endeavoured to support your character

type-founding and printing. Several years were spent before he could produce such types as pleased him, and he expended six hundred pounds in the process. The profits of the undertaking, however, were not in proportion to the enterprise and expense attending it; as will be seen by the following extract from a letter which he wrote to Dr. Franklin, dated Birmingham September 7, 1767. Dr. Franklin was at that time on a visit to Paris.

"After having obtained the reputation of excelling in the most useful art known to mankind, of which I have your testimony, is it not to the last degree provoking, that I cannot get even bread by it? I must starve, had I no other dependence. I have offered the London booksellers to print for them within five per cent as low as their common currency, but cannot get from them a single job. I offered my whole apparatus of letter-founding, printing, etc., to the Court of France by the Duke de Nivernois, when he was ambassador here, for eight thousand pounds, which was politely refused as being too large a sum. Mr. Godfroy, who may be heard of at Mr. Sayde's, optician to the King, lately told our good friend, Mr. Boulton, that France wished to be possessed of my printing, &c., on moderate terms, in which I heartily join.

"The intention of this is, therefore, to beg the favor of you to propose and recommend this affair, as Mr. Godfroy may point out the way. I want only to set on foot a treaty; if they will not come to my terms, I may possibly come to theirs. Suppose we reduce the price to six thousand pounds. Louis the Fourteenth would have given three times that sum, or Czar Peter. Let the reason of my parting with it be, the death of my son and intended successor, and, having acquired a moderate fortune, I wish to consult my ease in the afternoon of life, as I am now turned of sixty."

The French government did not accept the offer. Baskerville died on the 8th of January, 1775. In the year 1779, his types were purchased by a literary Society in Paris for £3700, and were employed in printing Beaumarchais' edition of Voltaire.

against the charge; he knew what he felt, and could see the reason of it, and several other gentlemen among his friends had made the same observation, &c.

Yesterday he called to visit me, when, mischievously bent to try his judgment, I stepped into my closet, tore off the top of Mr. Caslon's specimen, and produced it to him as yours, brought with me from Birmingham, saying, I had been examining it, since he spoke to me, and could not for my life perceive the disproportion he mentioned, desiring him to point it out to me. He readily undertook it, and went over the several fonts, showing me everywhere what he thought instances of that disproportion, and declared that he could not then read the specimen without feeling very strongly the pain he had mentioned to me. I spared him that time the confusion of being told that these were the types he had been reading all his life with so much ease to his eyes, the types his adored Newton is printed with, on which he has pored not a little; nay, the very types his own book is printed with (for he is himself an author), and yet never discovered this painful disproportion in them, till he thought they were yours. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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## CXCIV.

### TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 1760.

MY DEAR CHILD:—Yesterday I received your letter of February 10th, in which you mention that it was some months since you heard from me. During my journey I wrote several times to you, particularly

from Liverpool and Glasgow, and since my return some very long letters, that might have been with you before your last to me, but I suppose the severe winter on your coast, among other delays, has kept the vessels out. One packet, Bonnel, was blown quite back to England.

I am sorry for the death of your black boy, as you seem to have had a regard for him. You must have suffered a great deal in the fatigue of nursing him in such a distemper. F—— has wrote me a very idle letter, desiring me not to furnish the woman, pretending to be his wife, with any thing on his account, and says the letters she shows are a forgery. But I have one she left with me, in which he acknowledges her to be his wife, and the children his, and I am sure it is his handwriting by comparing it with this he has now wrote to me and a former one. So he must be a very bad man, and I am glad I never knew him. She was sick and perishing with her children in the beginning of the winter, and has had of me in all about four guineas. What is become of her now, I know not. She seemed a very helpless body, and I found her in some falsehoods that disgusted me; but I pitied the poor children, the more as they were descended, though remotely, from our good old friends, whom you remember.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that our business draws near a conclusion, and that in less than a month we shall have a hearing, after which I shall be able to fix a time for my return.[1] My love to all, from, dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] The business was not concluded so soon as he anticipated. The hearing came on, but a strong opposition was made by the Proprietors' counsel against the Pennsylvania claims.

# CXCV.

## TO THE PRINTER OF THE LONDON CHRONICLE.

SIR :—I met lately with an old quarto book on a stall, the titlepage and the author's name wanting, but containing discourses, addressed to some king of Spain, extolling the greatness of monarchy, translated into English, and said in the last leaf to be printed at London, by Bonham Norton and John Bill, "Printers to the King's most excellent Majestie, MDCXXIX." The author appears to have been a Jesuit, for, speaking of that order in two places, he calls it *our Society*. Give me leave to communicate to the public a chapter of it, so *apropos* to our present situation (only changing Spain for France), that I think it well worth general attention and observation, as it discovers the arts of our enemies, and may therefore help in some degree to put us on our guard against them.

What effect the artifices here recommended might have had in the times when our author wrote, I cannot pretend to say; but I believe, the present age being more enlightened and our people better acquainted than formerly with our true national interest, such arts can now hardly prove so generally successful; for we may with pleasure observe, and to the honor of the British people, that, though writings and discourses like these have lately not been wanting, yet few in any of the classes he particularizes seem to be affected by them, but all ranks and degrees among us persist hitherto in declaring for a vigorous

prosecution of the war, in preference to an unsafe, disadvantageous, or dishonorable peace; yet, as a little change of fortune may make such writings more attended to, and give them greater weight, I think the publication of this piece, as it shows the spring from whence these scribblers draw their poisoned waters, may be of public utility. A BRITON.

"CHAP. XXXIV.

"*On the Means of disposing the Enemie to Peace.*

"Warres, with whatsoever Prudence undertaken, and conducted, do not always succeed. Many Thinges out of Man's Power to governe, such as Dearth of Provision, Tempests, Pestilence, and the like, oftentimes interfering and totally overthrowing the best Designes; so that these Enemies (England and Holland) of our Monarchy though apparently at first the weaker, may by disastrous Events of Warre, on our Parte, become the stronger, and though not in such degree as to endanger the Bodie of this great Kingdom, yet, by their greater Power of Shipping and Aptness in Sea Affairs, to be able to cut off, if I may so speake, some of its smaller Limbs and Members that are remote therefrom and not easily defended, to wit, our Islands and Colonies in the Indies; thereby however depriving the Bodie of its wonted Nourishment, so that it must thenceforthe languish and grow weake, if those Parts are not recovered, which possibly may by continuance of Warre be found unlikelie to be done. And the Enemie, puffed up with their successes, and hoping still for more, may not be disposed to Peace on such Termes as would be suitable to the honor of your Majestie, and to the Welfare of your State and Subjects. In such Case, the following Meanes may have good Effect.

"It is well knowne, that these Northerne People, though hardie of Bodie and bold in Fight, be nevertheless, through

overmuch Eating and other Intemperance, slowe of Wit, and dull in Understanding, so that they are ofttimes more easilie to be governed and turned by Skill than by Force. There is, therefore, always Hope that, by wise Counsel and dexterous Management, those Advantages, which through cross Accidents in Warre have been lost, may again with Honour be recovered. In this Place I shall say little of the Power of Money secretly distributed among Grandees, or their Friends or Paramours; that Method being in all Ages known and practised. If the *minds* of Enemies can be *changed*, they may be brought to grant willingly and for nothing what much Gold would scarcely have otherwise prevailed to obtaine. Yet, as the procuring this Change is to be by fitte Instruments, some few Doubloones will not unprofitably be distributed by your Majestie. The manner whereof I shall now briefly recite.

"In those Countries, and particularly in England, there are not wanting Menne of Learning, ingenious Speakers and Writers, who are nevertheless in lowe Estate, and pinched by Fortune. These, being privately gained by proper Meanes, must be instructed in their Sermons, Discourses, Writings, Poems, and Songs, to handle and specially inculcate Points like these which followe. Let them magnifie the Blessings of Peace, and enlarge mightilie thereon, which is not unbecoming grave Divines and other Christian Menne. Let them expatiate on the Miseries of Warre, the Waste of Christian Blood, the growing Scarcitie of Labourers and Workmen, the Dearness of all foreign Wares and Merchandise, the Interruption of Commerce, the Captures of Ships, the Increase and great Burthen of Taxes. Let them represent the Warre as an unmeasurable Advantage to Particulars, and to Particulars only (thereby to excite envie against those, who manage and provide for the same), while so prejudicial to the Commonweale and People in general. Let them represent the Advantages gained against us, as trivial and of little Import; the Places taken from us, as of small Trade

and Produce, inconvenient for Situation, unwholesome for Ayre and Climate, useless to their Nations, and greatlie chargeable to keepe, draining the home Countrie both of Menne and Money.

"Let them urge, that, if a Peace be forced on us, and those Places withheld, it will nourishe secret Griefe and Malice in the King and Grandees of Spain, which will ere long breake forthe in new Warres, when those Places may again be retaken, without the Merit and Grace of restoring them willingly for Peace's Sake. Let them represent the making or Continuance of Warres, from views of Gaine, to be base and unworthy a brave People, as those made from Views of Ambition are mad and wicked. Let them insinuate, that the Continuance of the present Warre, on their Parte, hath these Ingredients in its Nature. Then let them magnifie the great Power of your Majestie, and the Strength of your Kingdome, the inexhaustible Wealthe of your Mines, the Greatness of your Incomes, and thence your Abilitie of continuing the Warre; hinting withal the new Alliances you may possiblie make; at the same time setting forth the sincere Disposition you have for Peace, and that it is only a Concerne for your Honor, and the Honor of your Realme, that induceth you to insist on the Restitution of the places taken.

"If, with all this, they shrewdly intimate, and cause it to be understood by artful Wordes and believed, that their own Prince is himself in Heart for Peace, on your Majestie's Termes, and grieved at the Obstinacy and Perverseness of those among his People, who are for continuing the Warre, a marvellous Effect shall by these Discourses and Writings be produced; and a wonderful strong Partie shall your Majestie raise among your Enemies in Favour of the Peace you desire; insomuch that their own Princes and wisest Counsellours will in a Sorte be constrained to yeeld thereto. For, in this Warre of Wordes, the Avarice and Ambition, the Hope and Fears, and all the Crowd of humane Passions will

be raised and put in Array to fight for your Interests against the reall and substantiall Interest of their own Countries. The simple and undiscerning Many shall be carried away by the Plausibilitie and Well-seeming of these Discourses; and the Opinions becoming more popular, all the Rich Menne, who have great Possessions, and fear the Continuance of Taxes, and hope Peace will end them, shall be emboldened thereby to crie aloud for Peace; their Dependents, who are many, must do the same.

"All Merchaunts, fearing Loss of Ships and greater Burthens on Trade by further Duties and Subsidies, and hoping greater Profits by the ending of the Warre, shall join in the crie for Peace. All the Usurers and Lenders of Money to the State, who on a Peace hope great Profits on their Bargains, and fear if the Warre be continued the State shall become bankeroute, and unable to pay them; these, who have no small Weighte, shall join the crie for Peace. All, who maligne the bold Conductors of the Warre, and envie the Glorie they may have thereby obtained; these shall crie aloud for Peace, hoping, that, when the Warre shall cease, such Menne becoming less necessarie shall be more lightly esteemed, and themselves more sought after. All the Officers of the Enemie's Armies and Fleets, who wish for Repose and to enjoy their Salaries or Rewardes in Quietnesse and without Peril; these, and their Friends and Families, who desire their Safetie and the Solace of their Societie, shall all crie for Peace.

"All those, who be timorous by Nature, amongste whom be reckoned Menne of Learning that lead sedentarie Lives, doing little Exercise of Bodie, and thence obtaining but few and weake Spirits; great Statesmen, whose natural Spirits be exhausted by much Thinking, or depressed by overmuch Feasting; together with all Women, whose Power, weake as they are, is not a little amongste the Menne; these shall incessantly speake for Peace. And finally all Courtiers, who suppose they conforme thereby to the Inclinations of the

Prince (*ad Exemplum Regis*, &c.); all who are in Places, fear to lose them, or hope for better; all who are out of Places, and hope to obtaine them; with all the worldly minded Clergy, who seeke Preferment; these, with all the Weighte of their Character and Influence, shall join the crie for Peace; till it becomes one universal Clamour, and no Sound, but that of Peace, Peace, Peace, shall be heard from every Quarter.

"Then shall your Majestie's Termes of Peace be listened to with much Readinesse, the Places taken from you be willingly restored, and your Kingdome, recovering its Strength, shall only need to waite a few Years for more favourable Occasions, when the Advantages to your Power, proposed by beginning the Warre, but lost by its bad Successe, shall, with better Fortune, be finally obtained."

## CXCVI.

### TO HUGH ROBERTS.

LONDON, 26 February, 1761.

DEAR FRIEND:—I think I have before acknowledged the receipt of your favor of the 15th of the 5th month, 1760. (I use your own notation, because I cannot tell what month it was, without reckoning.) I thank you for it, however, once more. I received it by the hand of your son, and had the pleasure withal of seeing him grown up a solid, sensible young man. You will have, I see, a great deal of satisfaction in him, and I congratulate you cordially on that head.

I was glad to hear that the Hospital is still supported. I write to the managers by this ship. In my journeys through England and Scotland I have visited

several of the same kind, which I think were all in a good way. I send you by this ship sundry of their accounts and rules, which were given me. Possibly you may find a useful hint or two in some of them. I believe we shall be able to make a small collection here; but I cannot promise it will be very considerable.

You tell me you sometimes visit the ancient Junto. I wish you would do it oftener. I know they all love and respect you, and regret your absenting yourself so much. People are apt to grow strange, and not understand one another so well, when they meet but seldom. Since we have held that Club till we are grown gray together, let us hold it out to the end. For my own part, I find I love company, chat, a laugh, a glass, and even a song, as well as ever, and at the same time relish better than I used to do the grave observations and wise sentences of old men's conversation; so that I am sure the Junto will be still as agreeable to me as it ever has been. I therefore hope it will not be discontinued as long as we are able to crawl together.[1]

[1] One of Franklin's songs for the JUNTO, of a political complexion, has been found among his manuscripts, which was probably written about the time of the Stamp Act, or a little later. The allusion to France, in the last stanza but one, would seem to refer to that period. The author was then in England, and it is not known for what occasion the song was composed.

THE MOTHER COUNTRY—A SONG.

"We have an old mother that peevish has grown;
She snubs us like children that scarce walk alone;
She forgets we 're grown up and have sense of our own,
Which nobody can deny, deny,
Which nobody can deny.

"If we don't obey orders, whatever the case,
She frowns, and she chides, and she loses all pati-
Ence, and sometimes she hits us a slap in the face,
Which nobody can deny, &c.

"Her orders so odd are, we often suspect
That age has impaired her sound intellect;
But still an' old mother should have due respect,
Which nobody can deny, &c.

I thank you for the frequent kind visits you are so good as to make to my little family. I now hope in a little time to have the pleasure of seeing them, and thanking my friends in person. With the sincerest esteem and regard, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

## CXCVII.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

CRAVEN STREET, Monday, 30 March, 1761.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Supposing the fact that the water of the well at Bristol is warmer after some time pumping, I think your manner of accounting for that increased warmth very ingenious and probable. It did not occur to me, and therefore I doubted of the fact.

You are, I think, quite right in your opinion, that the rising of the tides in rivers is not owing to the immediate influence of the moon on the rivers. It is rather a subsequent effect of the influence of the moon on the sea, and does not make its appearance in some rivers till the moon has long passed by. I have not expressed myself clearly, if you have understood me to mean otherwise. You know I have

"Let 's bear with her humors as well as we can;
But why should we bear the abuse of her man?
When servants make mischief, they earn the rattan,
Which nobody should deny, &c.

"Know too, ye bad neighbours, who aim to divide
The sons from the mother, that still she 's our pride;
And if ye attack her we 're all of her side,
Which nobody can deny, &c.

"We 'll join in her lawsuits, to baffle all those,
Who, to get what she has, will be often her foes;
For we know it must all be our own, when she goes,
Which nobody can deny, deny,
Which nobody can deny."

mentioned it as a fact, that there are in some rivers several tides all existing at the same time; that is, two, three, or more high-waters, and as many low-waters, in different parts of the same river, which cannot possibly be all effects of the moon's immediate action on that river, but they may be subsequent effects of her action on the sea.

In the enclosed paper you will find my sentiments on several points relating to the air and the evaporation of water. It is Mr. Collinson's copy, who took it from one I sent through his hands to a correspondent in France some years since; I have, as he desired me, corrected the mistakes he made in transcribing, and must return it to him; but if you think it worth while you may take a copy of it. I would have saved you any trouble of that kind, but had not time.

Some day in the next or the following week I purpose to have the pleasure of seeing you at Wanstead. I shall accompany your good mamma thither, and stay till the next morning, if it may be done without incommoding your family too much. We may then discourse any points in that paper that do not seem clear to you, and, taking a walk to Lord Tilney's ponds, make a few experiments there to explain the nature of the tides more fully. In the mean time, believe me to be, with the highest esteem and regard,

Your sincerely affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

# CXCVIII.

## TO JOSIAH QUINCY.

LONDON, 8 April, 1761.

DEAR SIR :—I received your very obliging letter of December 25th, by the hand of your valuable son, who had before favored me now and then with a kind visit. I congratulate you on his account, as I am sure you must have a great deal of satisfaction in him. His ingenuous, manly, and generous behaviour, in a transaction here with the Society of Arts, gave me great pleasure, as it was much to his reputation.[1]

I am glad my weak endeavours for our common interest were acceptable to you and my American friends. I shall be very happy indeed if any good arises from them. The people in power here do now seem convinced of the truth of the principles I have inculcated, and incline to act upon them ; but how far they will be able to do so at a peace, is still uncertain, especially as the war in Germany grows daily less favorable to us. My kinsman, Williams, was but ill informed in the account he gave you of my situation here. The Assembly voted me fifteen hundred pounds sterling when I left Philadelphia, to defray the expense of my voyage and negotiations in England, since which they have given nothing more, though I have been here near four years. They will, I make no doubt, on winding up the affair, do what

[1] The gentleman here mentioned was Edmund Quincy, a merchant of Boston and the eldest son of Josiah Quincy. He had been in trade several years, and went to London to arrange a mercantile correspondence there. He died at sea, March 31, 1768, on his homeward voyage from the West Indies, at the age of thirty-five.

is just; but they cannot afford to be extravagant, as that report would make them.

Pray make my best respects acceptable to your amiable family, and do me the justice to believe that no one more sincerely wishes a continuance of your happiness than, dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.[1]

## CXCIX.

TO HENRY POTTS, ESQ.

CRAVEN STREET, 23d April, 1761.

SIR:—In obedience to the commands of His Majesty's Postmaster General, signified to me by you, I have considered Governor Boone's letter to My Lord Bessborough, and the extract of his letter to John Pownall, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Trade, containing a complaint of some inconveniency to him, arising from "the posts not passing through Perth Amboy and Burlington (the route established by Act of Parliament) in their way between Philadelphia and New York"; and alledging, that "thro' this omission it has happened and may happen again that dispatches received by him from the plantation office could not be answered by the first pacquet, whence he may sometimes appear tardy to their lordships with all the inclination to be otherwise, etc."

It is true that the post route was thro' the towns

[1] Josiah Quincy, to whom the above letter was written, resided in Braintree, Mass., and was the father of the distinguished patriot, Josiah Quincy, Jr., who will be mentioned hereafter. An early acquaintance and attachment had been formed between Mr. Quincy, the father, and Dr. Franklin, the particulars of which are described by the latter in his autobiography.

of Burlington and Amboy in New Jersey, before and at the time of making the Act of Queen Anne for establishing the post office, and therefore those towns were mentioned in the Act, so far as to settle the rates of postage between them and the cities of New York and Philadelphia; but it has never been understood that the route was established by such mention of those places, or that the Act bound the post-office to continue the posts in any route then used, if one better and more convenient could be found. Nor, indeed, would such restraints in an Act of Parliament relating to America be of utility, but the contrary. For our first settlements there being near the sea, the first roads are of course along the coast where interrupting waters from bays and inlets are more frequent, and rivers wider and more difficult of passage; but in process of time, as the people settle farther back and clear the upland country, more convenient roads are found, the bays and inlets avoided, and the interruption of ferries less frequent, as many rivers are fordable up the country that cannot be cross'd near their mouths but in boats.

Something like this has been the case with regard to the old and new roads thro' the province of New Jersey. As soon as the new road in the upper parts of that province was open'd travellers between Philadelphia and New York began gradually to abandon the old road, which was not so convenient; and after some time, on an application made to Col. Spotswood, then deputy postmaster-general, the post route was also chang'd from the old road to the new.

This change was made about thirty years ago and some years before I had any concern in the office; but as it was a matter much talk'd of at the time, I remember well the reasons that were given for the change which were these, viz.:

That the ferry over the River Delaware from Bristol to Burlington, to be pass'd in travelling the old road, was a mile and half wide, and in winter often incumbered with ice, so as greatly to delay the post: that the old road, from Burlington to Amboy, was for 50 miles chiefly a heavy loose sand, very fatiguing to the horses; that being thro' a barren country, it was not well-inhabited, nor the inns well supply'd with provisions; that being less travelled than formerly, there was not the same care taken to provide suitable accommodations for travellers, so that no gentlemen passing between New York and Philadelphia, tho' desirous of riding post, could well travel with him: that this gradual disuse of the road occasioned less care to be taken of the bridges, which were often out of repair, so that in rainy seasons, crossing the brooks and branches of rivers became dangerous and sometimes impracticable, to the great delay and injury of travellers: that the ferry over to Amboy, necessary to be pass'd on this road, was near two miles wide, being at the mouth of the Raritan River, and often so rough from high winds, or so incumbered with ice as to be impassable for many hours, to the great delay of the post as well as other travellers: and after the post was got to Amboy, he had still three large ferries to cross between that

place and New York, viz.: the ferry over to Staten Island, the ferry from Staten Island to Long Island, 3 miles wide, and the ferry from Long Island to New York; in all which places the ferrymen were generally very dilatory, and backward to carry the post in bad weather, availing themselves of every excuse, as they were by law to receive no ferriage of him. On the other hand the new road was over better ground and kept in better repair; there were everywhere good accommodations at the inns; Delaware River was to be cross'd at Trenton and Raritan River at Brunswick, where they were both narrow, and the latter fordable at low water; and the people at Elizabeth Town Point undertook voluntarily to have a stout boat always ready to carry the post and his company directly to New York, by which the three last mentioned ferries were avoided.

The change being accordingly made, the post went no more thro' Burlington and Amboy; but those places on that account suffered very little inconveniency, for an office was still continu'd at each of them, and their letters sent over to proper places on the new post road, to be carried forward by the post; and this was easy to do, it being only cross the ferry from Burlington to Bristol, thro' which the post goes, and but 4 miles from Amboy to Woodbridge thro' which he also goes. And the letters for Burlington were in like manner sent over to that office from Bristol, and those for Amboy sent to that office from Woodbridge. Tho' the letters to and from each place by post were always extremely few, as they

are towns of little or no foreign trade, the chief dealing with Amboy being with New York, and that of Burlington with Philadelphia, to and from which places boats are going almost every day, by which they always chose to send their letters, even when the post pass'd thro' them. On the other hand, two other large and thriving towns, who make much more use of the post, are accommodated by it on the New York road, viz., Trenton and Brunswick; not to mention Prince Town, where a college is lately erected, Woodbridge and Elizabeth Town, thro' all of which places the new road passes, and where offices have been long established.

It is now near 24 years that I have been concern'd in the management of the offices between Philadelphia and New York, and in all that time have had no complaint made to me of inconvenience from the posts continuing the route I found them in. And I must own myself at a loss to conceive the difficulty Governor Boone mentions of his corresponding regularly with the Board of Trade, and that "dispatches receiv'd from their Lordships *could not* be answered by the first pacquet, thro' the posts' omission of Burlington and Amboy in their route." His Excellency resides at Amboy, and the letters for him which arrive at New York in the pacquet, must be forwarded to him at farthest within three days, as the post goes from New York twice a week and passes within four miles of Amboy at Woodbridge, where the Governor's letters are left, and sent to him immediately by a special messenger from the office there; the post re-

turns twice a week from Philadelphia to New York, and passing thro' Woodbridge, takes up and carries forward any letters left there. The pacquet stays at New York at least 20 days, and during that time the post passes 6 times thro' Woodbridge to New York, and would carry forward any letters the Governor should lodge at Woodbridge for that purpose. And if he happens to be at Burlington with his Assembly the post passes equally often thro' Bristol (within a mile and a half of him, only just cross a ferry), where it cannot be much trouble to send his letters. So that on the whole I am pursuaded it must appear, when duly considered, that his Excellency's want of punctuality in his correspondence with their Lordships cannot justly be charged to the account of the post-office. Mr. Barnard, immediate predecessor of Governor Boone, tho' he also lived at Amboy, made no complaint of this kind that I ever heard of. Nor did the next preceding Governor Belcher, tho' he lived great part of his time at Burlington. The governors of New Jersey have sometimes liv'd on the new road, at Trenton and at Elizabeth Town ; and as there is no fixed place of residence for governors in that province, future governors may happen to chuse some of the towns on the new road ; so that if the post route were chang'd to gratify Governor Boone, the next governor might desire to have it back again. And I apprehend that the delays formerly experienced so frequently in the detention of the post by the wide ferries in the winter, would, if the old route was resumed, occasion great dissatisfaction to the gov-

ernors of Pennsylvania, New York and New England, who, as well as the merchants of their great trading towns would probably remonstrate warmly against it.

Nevertheless, if His Majesty's Postmaster General should upon the whole think fit to order the old route to be resumed, and the new one with all the offices so long established upon it to be drop't, it is my duty to carry their orders into execution, which I shall do with great readiness and fidelity. I am, Sir, your most Obedient humble servant. B. FRANKLIN.[1]

## CC.

### TO EDWARD PENNINGTON.[2]

LONDON, 9 May, 1761.

SIR:—I enclose you a letter from your kinsman, Mr. Springet Penn, with whom I had no acquaintance until lately, but have the pleasure to find him a very sensible, discreet young man, with excellent dispositions, which makes me the more regret that the government as well as property of our province should pass out of that line. There has, by his account, been something very mysterious in the conduct of his uncle, Mr. Thomas Penn, towards him. He was his guardian; but instead of endeavouring to educate him at home under his eye in a manner becoming the elder branch of their house, has from his infancy been endeavouring to get rid of him.

[1] From "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey," vol. ix. (first series), p. 265.

[2] Mr. Pennington was an eminent merchant of Philadelphia. There was a family connection between his ancestors and William Penn's first wife, whose name before her marriage was Springet.

He first proposed sending him to the East Indies. When that was declined, he had a scheme of sending him to Russia; but the young gentleman's mother absolutely refusing to let him go out of the kingdom, unless to Pennsylvania to be educated in the college there, he would by no means hear of his going thither, but bound him an apprentice to a county attorney in an obscure part of Sussex, which, after two years' stay, finding that he was taught nothing valuable, nor could see any company that might improve him, he left, and returned to his mother, with whom he has been ever since, much neglected by his uncle, except lately that he has been a little civil, to get him to join in a power of attorney to W. Peters and R. Hockley for the sale of some Philadelphia lots, of which he is told three undivided fourth parts belong to him. But he is not shown the right he has to them; nor has he any plan of their situation, by which he may be advised of their value; nor was he told, till lately, that he had any such right, which makes him suspect that he may have other rights that are concealed from him.

In some letters to his father's eldest brother, Springet Penn, whose heir he is, he finds that Sir William Keith surveyed for him, the said Springet, a manor of seventy-five thousand acres on the Susquehanna, which he called Springetsbury, and would be glad to know what became of that survey, and whether it was ever conveyed away. By searching the records, you may possibly obtain some light in this and other land affairs, that may be for his inter-

est. The good inclinations you have shown towards that interest, in a letter that has been shown to me, encourage me to recommend this matter earnestly to your care and prudence; and the more privately you carry on your inquiries, for the present, the better it will be.

His uncle has lately proposed to him to buy of him Pennsbury manor house, with one thousand acres of the land near the house, pretending that his principal reason for doing it was not the value of the land, but an inclination he had to possess the ancient home of the head of the family, and a little land round it just to support it. You know the situation of that manor, and can judge whether it would be prudent to sell the part proposed from the rest, and will advise him concerning it. He has refused to treat about it at present, as well as to sign the power of attorney for the sale of the city lots; upon which his late guardian has brought in an account against him, and demands a debt of four hundred pounds, which he urges him to pay, for that, as he says, he very much wants the money, which does not seem to look well.

Not only the Land Office may be searched for warrants and surveys to the young gentleman's ancestors, but also the Record Office for deeds of gift from the first proprietor, and other subsequent grants or conveyances. I may tell you in confidence, that some lawyers are of opinion that the government was not legally conveyed from the eldest branch to others of the family; but this is to be farther inquired into, and at present it is not to be talked of. I am, with much esteem, Sir, &c., B. FRANKLIN.

## CCI.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

UTRECHT, IN HOLLAND, 14 September, 1761.

MY DEAR CHILD :—I wrote to you just before we left London, that we were about to make a short tour to Holland. I wrote to you since from Antwerp, in Flanders, and am now to acquaint you, that, having seen almost all the principal places, and the things worthy of notice, in those two countries, we are on our return to London, where we hope to be next Saturday or Sunday, that we may not miss the Coronation. At Amsterdam I met with Mr. Crellius and his daughter, that was formerly Mrs. Neigh. Her husband, Dr. Neigh, died in Carolina, and she is married again and lives very well in that city. They treated us with great civility and kindness, and will be so obliging as to forward this letter to you, a ship being bound to New York from Amsterdam. We are in good health, and have had a great deal of pleasure, and received a good deal of information in this tour, that may be useful when we return to America. My love to my dear Sally, and affectionate regards to all. Billy presents his duty. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCII.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

CRAVEN STREET, 29 October, 1761.

My dear Polly's good mamma bids me write two or three lines, by way of apology for her so long omit-

ting to write. She acknowledges the receiving of two agreeable letters from her beloved daughter, enclosing one for Sally Franklin, which was much approved (excepting one word only) and sent as directed.

The reasons of her not writing are, that her time all day is fully taken up, during the daylight, with the care of her family, and—lying abed in the morning. And her eyes are so bad that she cannot see to write in the evening—for playing at cards. So she hopes that one, who is all goodness, will certainly forgive her, when her excuses are so substantial. As for the secretary, he has not a word to say in his own behalf, though full as great an offender, but throws himself upon mercy; pleading only that he is, with the greatest esteem and sincerest regard, his dear Polly's ever affectionate friend, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCIII.

TO LORD KAMES.

LONDON, November, 1761.

MY DEAR LORD:—It is long since I have afforded myself the pleasure of writing to you. As I grow in years, I find I grow more indolent, and more apt to procrastinate. I am indeed a bad correspondent; but what avails confession without amendment?

When I come so late with my thanks for your truly valuable *Introduction to the Art of Thinking*, can I have any right to inquire after your *Elements of Criticism?* I promise myself no small satisfaction in perusing that work also, when it shall appear. By

the first, you sow thick in the young mind the seeds of good sense concerning moral conduct, which, as they grow and are transplanted into life, must greatly adorn the character and promote the happiness of the person. Permit me to say that I think I never saw more solid, useful matter contained in so small a compass, and yet the method and expression so clear that the brevity occasions no obscurity. In the other you will, by alluring youth to the practice of learning, strengthen their judgment, improve and enlarge their understanding, and increase their abilities of being useful.

To produce the number of valuable men necessary in a nation for its prosperity, there is much more hope from schemes of *early institution* than from *reformation.* And as the power of a single man to do national service, in particular situations of influence, is often immensely great, a writer can hardly conceive the good he may be doing when engaged in works of this kind. I cannot, therefore, but wish you would publish it as soon as your other important employments will permit you to give it the finishing hand.

With these sentiments you will not doubt my being serious in the intention of finishing my *Art of Virtue.* It is not a mere ideal work. I planned it first in 1732. I have from time to time made, and caused to be made, experiments of the method with success. The materials have been growing ever since. The form only is now to be given; in which I purpose employing my first leisure, after my return to my *other* country.

Your invitation to make another jaunt to Scotland, and offer to meet us half way *en famille*, was extremely obliging. Certainly I never spent my time anywhere more agreeably, nor have I been in any place where the inhabitants and their conversation left such lastingly pleasing impressions on my mind, accompanied with the strongest inclination once more to visit that hospitable, friendly, and sensible people. The friendship your Lordship in particular honors me with would not, you may be assured, be among the least of my inducements. My son is in the same sentiments with me. But we doubt we cannot have that happiness, as we are to return to America early in the next spring.

I am ashamed that I have been so useless a member to your *Philosophical Society*, since they did me the honor of admitting me. But I think it will not be long before they hear from me. I should be very glad to see Dr. Cullen's paper on *Fire*. When may we expect the publication? I have, as you have heard, been dealing in *Smoke*, and I think it not difficult to manage, when one is once acquainted thoroughly with the principles. But as the causes are various, so must the remedies be; and one cannot prescribe to a patient at such a distance, without first having a clear state of its case. If you should ever take the trouble of sending me a description of the circumstances of your smoky chimneys, perhaps I might offer something useful towards their cure. But doubtless you have doctors equally skilful nearer home.

I sent one of your *Principles of Equity* as a pres-

ent to a particular friend of mine, one of the judges of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, where, as there is no court of chancery, equity is often mixed with the common law in their judgments. I since received two letters from him. In the first, when he had read but part of the work, he seemed to think something wanting in it. In the next, he calls his first sentiments in question. I think I will send you the letters, though of no great importance, lest, since I have mentioned them, you should think his remarks might be of more consequence. You can return them when any friend is coming this way.

May I take the freedom of recommending the bearer, Mr. Morgan, to your Lordship's protection. He purposes residing some time in Edinburgh, to improve himself in the study of physic, and I think will one day make a good figure in the profession, and be of some credit to the school he studies in, if great industry and application, joined with natural genius and sagacity, afford any foundation for the presage. He is the son of a friend and near neighbour of mine in Philadelphia, so that I have known him from a child, and am confident the same excellent dispositions, good morals, and prudent behaviour, that have procured him the esteem and affection of all that knew him in his own country, will render him not unworthy the regard, advice, and countenance your Lordship may be so good as to afford him.

My son (with whom I have lately made the tour of Holland and Flanders) joins with me in best wishes for you and Lady Kames, and your amiable children.

We hope, however far we may be removed from you, to hear frequently of your welfare, and of the fortunes of your family; being with the sincerest esteem and regard, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCIV.

### TO DAVID HUME.

LONDON, 24 January, 1762.

DEAR SIR:—In compliance with my Lord Marischal's request, communicated to me by you, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, I now send you what at present appears to me to be the shortest and simplest method of securing buildings, &c., from the mischiefs of lightning. Prepare a steel rod five or six feet long, half an inch thick at its biggest end, and tapering to a sharp point; which point should be gilt to prevent its rusting. Let the big end of the rod have a strong eye or ring of half an inch diameter: Fix this rod upright to the chimney or highest part of the house, by means of staples, so as it may be kept steady. Let the pointed end be upwards, and rise three or four feet above the chimney or building that the rod is fixed to. Drive into the ground an iron rod of about an inch diameter, and ten or twelve feet long, that has also an eye or ring in its upper end. It is best that the rod should be at some distance from the foundation of the building, not nearer than ten feet, if your ground will allow so much. Then take as much length of iron rod of about half an inch diameter, as will reach from the eye in the rod

above, to that in the rod below; and fasten it securely to those rods, by passing its ends through the rings, and bending those ends till they likewise form rings.

This length of rod may either be in one or several pieces. If in several, let the ends of the pieces be also well hooked to each other. Then close and cover every joint with lead, which is easily done, by making a small bag of strong paper round the joint, tying it close below, and then pouring in the melted lead; it being of use in these junctures, that there should be considerable quantity of metalline contact between piece and piece. For, if they were only hooked together and so touched each other but in points, the lightning, in passing through them, might melt and break them where they join. The lead will also prevent the weakening of the joints by rust. To prevent the shaking of this rod by the wind, you may secure it by a few staples to the building, till it comes down within ten feet of the ground, and thence carry it off to your ground rod; near to which should be planted a post, to support the iron conductor above the heads of people walking under it.

If the building be large and long, as an hundred feet or upwards, it may not be amiss to erect a pointed rod at each end, and form a communication by an iron rod between them. If there be a well near the house, so that you can by such a rod form a communication from your top rod to the water, it is rather better to do so than to use the ground rod above mentioned. It may also be proper to paint the iron, to render it more durable by preserving it from rust.

A building thus guarded will not be damaged by lightning, nor any person or thing therein killed, hurt, or set on fire. For either the explosion will be prevented by the operation of the point, or, if not prevented, then the whole quantity of lightning exploded near the house, whether passing from the cloud to the earth, or from the earth to the cloud, will be conveyed in the rods. And though the iron be crooked round the corner of the building, or make ever so many turns between the upper and lower rod, the lightning will follow it, and be guided by it, without affecting the building. I omit the philosophical reasons and experiments on which this practice is founded, for they are many, and would make a book. Besides they are already known to most of the learned throughout Europe. In the American British colonies many houses have been, since the year 1752, guarded by these principles. Three facts have only come to my knowledge of the effects of lightning on such houses.

If I have not been explicit enough in my directions, I shall, on the least intimation, endeavour to supply the defect. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCV.

### TO E. KINNERSLEY.

LONDON, 20 February, 1762.

SIR :—I received your ingenious letter of the 12th of March last, and thank you cordially for the account you give me of the new experiments you have

lately made in electricity. It is a subject that still affords me pleasure, though of late I have not much attended to it.

Your second experiment, in which you attempted, without success, to communicate positive electricity by vapor ascending from electrized water, reminds me of one I formerly made, to try if negative electricity might be produced by evaporation only. I placed a large heated brass plate, containing four or five square feet, on an electric stand ; a rod of metal, about four feet long, with a bullet at its end, extended from the plate horizontally. A light lock of cotton, suspended by a fine thread from the ceiling, hung opposite to, and within an inch of, the bullet. I then sprinkled the heated plate with water, which arose fast from it in vapor. If vapor should be disposed to carry off the electrical, as it does the common, fire from bodies, I expected the plate would, by losing some of its natural quantity, become negatively electrized. But I could not perceive, by any motion in the cotton, that it was at all affected; nor, by any separation of small cork balls suspended from the plate, could it be observed that the plate was in any manner electrified.

Mr. Canton here has also found, that two tea-cups, set on electric stands, and filled, one with boiling, the other with cold, water, and equally electrified, continued equally so, notwithstanding the plentiful evaporation from the hot water. Your experiment and his, agreeing, show another remarkable difference between electric and common fire. For the

latter quits most readily the body that contains it, where water, or any other fluid, is evaporating from the surface of that body, and escapes with the vapor. Hence the method, long in use in the East, of cooling liquors by wrapping the bottles round with a wet cloth, and exposing them to the wind. Dr. Cullen, of Edinburgh, has given some experiments of cooling by evaporation; and I was present at one made by Dr. Hadley, then Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, when, by repeatedly wetting the ball of a thermometer with spirit, and quickening the evaporation by the blast of a bellows, the mercury fell from sixty-five, the state of warmth in the common air, to seven, which is twenty-two degrees below freezing; and, accordingly, from some water mixed with the spirit, or from the breath of the assistants, or both, ice gathered in small *spicula* round the ball to the thickness of near a quarter of an inch. To such a degree did the mercury lose the fire it before contained, which, as I imagine, took the opportunity of escaping, in company with the evaporating particles of the spirit, by adhering to those particles.

Your experiment of the Florence flask and boiling water is very curious. I have repeated it, and found it to succeed as you describe it, in two flasks out of three. The third would not charge when filled with either hot or cold water. I repeated it, because I remembered I had once attempted to make an electric bottle of a Florence flask, filled with cold water, but could not charge it at all; which I then imputed to some imperceptible cracks in the small, extremely thin

bubbles, of which that glass is full, and I concluded none of that kind would do. But you have shown me my mistake. Mr. Wilson had formerly acquainted us that red-hot glass would conduct electricity; but that so small a degree of heat as that communicated by boiling water would so open the pores of extremely thin glass, as to suffer the electric fluid freely to pass, was not before known. Some experiments similar to yours have, however, been made here, before the receipt of your letter, of which I shall now give you an account.

I formerly had an opinion that a Leyden bottle, charged and then sealed hermetically, might retain its electricity for ever; but having afterwards some suspicion that possibly that subtile fluid might, by slow, imperceptible degrees, soak through the glass, and in time escape, I requested some of my friends, who had conveniences for doing it, to make trial, whether, after some months, the charge of a bottle so sealed would be sensibly diminished. Being at Birmingham, in September, 1760, Mr. Bolton of that place opened a bottle that had been charged, and its long tube neck hermetically sealed in the January preceding. On breaking off the end of the neck, and introducing a wire into it, we found it possessed of a considerable quantity of electricity, which was discharged by a snap and spark. This bottle had lain near seven months on a shelf, in a closet, in contact with bodies that would undoubtedly have carried off all its electricity, if it could have come readily through the glass. Yet, as the quantity manifested by the discharge was not

apparently so great as might have been expected from a bottle of that size well charged, some doubt remained, whether part had escaped while the neck was sealing, or had since, by degrees, soaked through the glass. But an experiment of Mr. Canton's, in which such a bottle was kept under water a week, without having its electricity in the least impaired, seems to show that when the glass is cold, though extremely thin, the electric fluid is well retained by it. As that ingenious and accurate experimenter made a discovery, like yours, of the effect of heat in rendering thin glass permeable by that fluid, it is but doing him justice to give you his account of it, in his own words, extracted from his letter to me, in which he communicated it, dated October 31st, 1760, viz. :

" Having procured some thin glass balls, of about an inch and a half in diameter, with stems or tubes, of eight or nine inches in length, I electrified them, some positively on the inside, and others negatively, after the manner of charging the Leyden bottle, and sealed them hermetically. Soon after I applied the naked balls to my electrometer, and could not discover the least sign of their being electrical, but holding them before the fire, at the distance of six or eight inches, they became strongly electrical in a very short time, and more so when they were cooling. These balls will, every time they are heated, give the electrical fluid to, or take it from, other bodies, according to the *plus* or *minus* state within them. Heating them frequently, I find, will sensibly diminish their power ; but keeping one of them under water a week did not appear in the least degree to impair it. That which I kept under water was charged on the 22d of September last, was several times heated before it was kept in

water, and has been heated frequently since, and yet it still retains its virtue to a very considerable degree. The breaking two of my balls accidentally gave me an opportunity of measuring their thickness, which I found to be between seven and eight parts in a thousand of an inch.

"A down feather in a thin glass ball, hermetically sealed, will not be affected by the application of an excited tube, or the wire of a charged phial, unless the ball be considerably heated; and if a glass pane be heated till it begins to grow soft, and in that state be held between the wire of a charged phial and the discharging wire, the course of the electrical fluid will not be through the glass, but on the surface, round by the edge of it."

By this last experiment of Mr. Canton's it appears that though by a moderate heat thin glass becomes, in some degree, a conductor of electricity, yet when of the thickness of a common pane it is not, though in a state near melting, so good a conductor as to pass the shock of a discharged bottle. There are other conductors which suffer the electric fluid to pass through them gradually, and yet will not conduct a shock. For instance, a quire of paper will conduct through its whole length, so as to electrify a person who, standing on wax, presents the paper to an electrified prime conductor; but it will not conduct a shock even through its thickness only; hence the shock either fails, or passes by rending a hole in the paper. Thus a sieve will pass water gradually, but a stream from a fire-engine would either be stopped by it, or tear a hole through it.

It should seem, that, to make glass permeable to the electric fluid, the heat should be proportioned to

the thickness. You found the heat of boiling water, which is but two hundred and ten, sufficient to render the extreme thin glass in a Florence flask permeable even to a shock. Lord Charles Cavendish, by a very ingenious experiment, has found the heat of four hundred requisite to render thicker glass permeable to the common current.

"A glass tube (see Plate I.), of which the part *CB* was solid, had wire thrust in each end, reaching to *B* and *C*.

"A small wire was tied on at *D*, reaching to the floor, in order to carry off any electricity that might run along upon the tube.

"The bent part was placed in an iron pot, filled with iron filings; a thermometer was also put into the filings; a lamp was placed under the pot; and the whole was supported upon glass.

"The wire *A* being electrified by a machine, before the heat was applied, the corks at *E* separated, at first upon the principle of the Leyden phial.

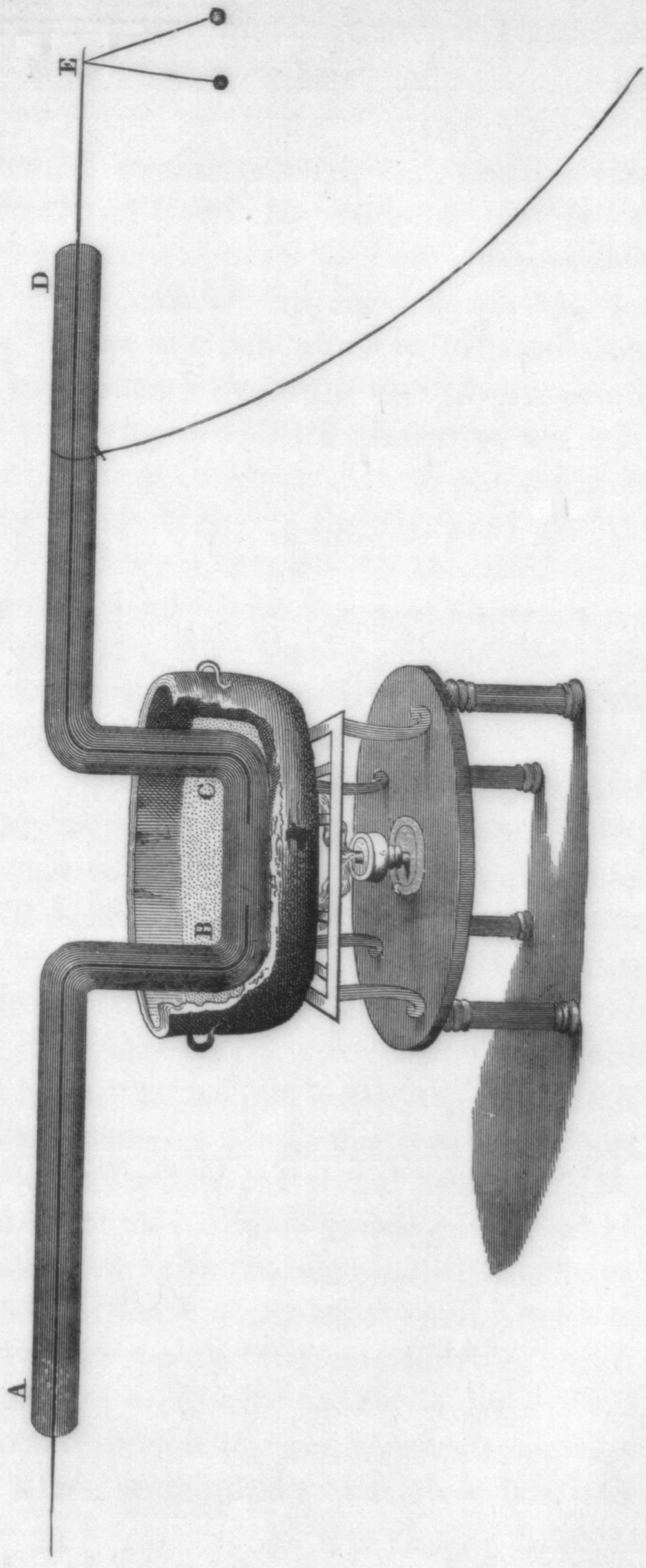
"But after the part *CB* of the tube was heated to six hundred, the corks continued to separate, though you discharged the electricity by touching the wire at *E*, the electrical machine continuing in motion.

"Upon letting the whole cool, the effect remained till the thermometer was sunk to four hundred."

It were to be wished that this noble philosopher would communicate more of his experiments to the world, as he makes many, and with great accuracy.

You know I have always looked upon and mentioned the equal repulsion, in cases of positive and of negative electricity, as a phenomenon difficult to be explained. I have sometimes, too, been inclined, with

PLATE I.



you, to resolve all into attraction; but, besides that attraction seems in itself as unintelligible as repulsion, there are some appearances of repulsion that I cannot so easily explain by attraction; this, for one instance. When the pair of cork balls are suspended by flaxen threads from the end of the prime conductor, if you bring a rubbed glass tube near the conductor, but without touching it, you see the balls separate, as being electrified positively; and yet you have communicated no electricity to the conductor, for, if you had, it would have remained there after withdrawing the tube; but the closing of the balls immediately thereupon, shows that the conductor has no more left in it than its natural quantity. Then, again approaching the conductor with the rubbed tube, if, while the balls are separated, you touch with a finger that end of the conductor to which they hang, they will come together again, as being, with that part of the conductor, brought to the same state with your finger—that is, the natural state. But the other end of the conductor, near which the tube is held, is not in that state, but in the negative state, as appears on removing the tube; for then part of the natural quantity left at the end near the balls, leaving that end to supply what is wanting at the other, the whole conductor is found to be equally in the negative state. Does not this indicate that the electricity of the rubbed tube had repelled the electric fluid, which was diffused in the conductor while in its natural state, and forced it to quit the end to which the tube was brought near, accumulating itself on the end

to which the balls were suspended? I own I find it difficult to account for its quitting that end, on the approach of the rubbed tube, but on the supposition of repulsion; for while the conductor was in the same state with the air—that is, the natural state, it does not seem to me easy to suppose that an attraction should suddenly take place between the air and the natural quantity of the electric fluid in the conductor, so as to draw it to, and accumulate it on, the end opposite to that approached by the tube; since bodies possessing only their natural quantity of that fluid are not usually seen to attract each other, or to affect mutually the quantities of electricity each contains.

There are likewise appearances of repulsion in other parts of nature. Not to mention the violent force with which the particles of water, heated to a certain degree, separate from each other, or those of gunpowder, when touched with the smallest spark of fire, there is the seeming repulsion between the same poles of the magnet, a body containing a subtile movable fluid in many respects analogous to the electric fluid. If two magnets are so suspended by strings as that their poles of the same denomination are opposite to each other, they will separate and continue so; or if you lay a magnetic steel bar on a smooth table, and approach it with another parallel to it, the poles of both in the same position, the first will recede from the second, so as to avoid the contact, and may thus be pushed (or at least appear to be pushed) off the table. Can

this be ascribed to the attraction of any surrounding body or matter drawing them asunder, or drawing the one away from the other? If not, and repulsion exists in nature, and in magnetism, why may it not exist in electricity? We should not indeed multiply causes in philosophy without necessity; and the greater simplicity of your hypothesis would recommend it to me, if I could see that all appearances would be solved by it. But I find, or think I find, the two causes more convenient than one of them alone. Thus I might solve the circular motion of your horizontal stick, supported on a pivot, with two pins at their ends, pointing contrary ways, and moving in the same direction when electrified, whether positively or negatively: when positively, the air opposite to the points, being electrized positively, repels the points; when negatively, the air opposite the points also, by their means, electrized negatively, attraction takes place between the electricity in the air behind the heads of the pins and the negative pins, and so they are, in this case, drawn in the same direction that in the other they were driven. You see I am willing to meet you half way, a complaisance I have not met with in our brother Nollet, or any other hypothesis-maker, and therefore may value myself a little upon it, especially as they say I have some ability in defending even the wrong side of a question, when I take it in hand.

What you give as an established law of the electric fluid, "That quantities of different densities mutually attract each other, in order to restore the equilib-

rium," [1] is, I think, not well founded, or else not well expressed. Two large cork balls, suspended by silk strings, and both well and equally electrified, separate to a great distance. By bringing into contact with one of them another ball of the same size, suspended likewise by silk, you will take from it half its electricity. It will then, indeed, hang at a less distance from the other, but the full and the half quantities will not appear to attract each other—that is, the balls will not come together. Indeed, I do not know any proof we have, that one quantity of electric fluid is attracted by another quantity of that fluid, whatever difference there may be in their densities. And, supposing in nature a mutual attraction between two parcels of any kind of matter, it would be strange if this attraction should subsist strongly while those parcels were unequal, and cease when more matter of the same kind was added to the smallest parcel, so as to make it equal to the biggest. By all the laws of attraction in matter that we are acquainted with, the attraction is stronger in proportion to the increase of the masses, and never in proportion to the difference of the masses. I should rather think the law would be : "That the electric fluid is attracted strongly by

[1] This letter from Franklin is in reply to another from Kinnersley, dated the 12th March, 1762, in which he said :

"The doctrine of repulsion in electrized bodies I begin to be somewhat doubtful of. I think all the phenomena on which it is founded may be well enough accounted for without it. Will not cork balls, electrized negatively, separate as far as when electrized positively ? And may not their separation in both cases be accounted for upon the same principle —namely, the mutual attraction of the natural quantity in the air, and that which is denser or rarer in the cork balls ? it being one of the established laws of this fluid, that quantities of different densities shall mutually attract each other, in order to restore the equilibrium."

all other matter that we know of, while the parts of that fluid mutually repel each other." Hence its being equally diffused (except in particular circumstances) throughout all other matter. But this you jokingly call "electrical orthodoxy." It is so with some at present, but not with all; and, perhaps, it may not always be orthodoxy with anybody. Opinions are continually varying, where we cannot have mathematical evidence of the nature of things; and they must vary. Nor is that variation without its use, since it occasions a more thorough discussion, whereby error is often dissipated, true knowledge is increased, and its principles become better understood and more firmly established.

Air should have, as you observe, "its share of the common stock of electricity, as well as glass, and, perhaps, all other electrics *per se*." But I suppose that, like them, it does not easily part with what it has, or receive more, unless when mixed with some non-electric, as moisture, for instance, of which there is some in our driest air. This, however, is only a supposition; and your experiment of restoring electricity to a negatively electrized person, by extending his arm upwards into the air, with a needle between his fingers, on the point of which light may be seen in the night, is, indeed, a curious one. In this town the air is generally moister than with us, and here I have seen Mr. Canton electrify the air in one room positively, and in another, which communicated by a door, he has electrized the air negatively. The difference was easily discovered by his cork balls, as he passed out

of one room into another. Père Beccaria, too, has a pretty experiment, which shows that air may be electrized. Suspending a pair of small light balls, by flaxen threads, to the end of his prime conductor, he turns his globe some time, electrizing positively, the balls diverging and continuing separate all the time. Then he presents the point of a needle to his conductor, which gradually drawing off the electric fluid, the balls approach each other, and touch, before all is drawn from the conductor; opening again as more is drawn off, and separating nearly as widely as at first, when the conductor is reduced to the natural state. By this it appears that when the balls came together the air surrounding the balls was just as much electrized as the conductor at that time; and more than the conductor, when that was reduced to its natural state. For the balls, though in the natural state, will diverge, when the air that surrounds them is electrized *plus* or *minus*, as well as when that is in its natural state and they are electrized *plus* or *minus* themselves. I foresee that you will apply this experiment to the support of your hypothesis, and I think you may make a good deal of it.

It was a curious inquiry of yours, whether the electricity of the air, in clear, dry weather, be of the same density at the height of two or three hundred yards, as near the surface of the earth; and I am glad you made the experiment. Upon reflection, it should seem probable that whether the general state of the atmosphere at any time be positive or negative, that part of it which is next the earth will be nearer the natural

state, by having given to the earth in one case, or having received from it in the other. In electrizing the air of a room, that which is nearest the walls, or floor, is least altered. There is only one small ambiguity in the experiment, which may be cleared by more trials; it arises from the supposition that bodies may be electrized positively by the friction of air blowing strongly on them, as it does on the kite and its string. If at some times the electricity appears to be negative, as that friction is the same, the effect must be from a negative state of the upper air.

I am much pleased with your electrical thermometer, and the experiments you have made with it. I formerly satisfied myself, by an experiment with my phial and siphon, that the electricity of the air was not increased by the mere existence of an electric atmosphere within the phial; but I did not know, till you now inform me, that heat may be given to it by an electric explosion. The continuance of its rarefaction, for some time after the discharge of your glass jar and of your case of bottles, seems to make this clear. The other experiments on wet paper, wet thread, green grass, and green wood, are not so satisfactory; as possibly the reducing part of the moisture to vapor, by the electric fluid passing through it, might occasion some expansion which would be gradually reduced by the condensation of such vapor. The fine silver thread, the very small brass wire, and the strip of gilt paper are also subject to a similar objection, as even metals, in such circumstances, are often partly reduced to smoke, particularly the gilding on paper.

But your subsequent beautiful experiment on the wire, which you made hot by the electric explosion, and in that state fired gunpowder with it, puts it out of all question, that heat is produced by our artificial electricity, and that the melting of metals in that way is not by what I formerly called a cold fusion. A late instance here of the melting of bell-wire in a house struck by lightning, and parts of the wire burning holes in the floor on which they fell, has proved the same with regard to the electricity of nature. I was too easily led into that error by accounts given, even in philosophical books, and from remote ages downwards, of melting money in purses, swords in scabbards, &c., without burning the inflammable matters that were so near those melted metals. But men are, in general, such careless observers, that a philosopher cannot be too much on his guard in crediting their relations of things extraordinary, and should never build an hypothesis on any thing but clear facts and experiments, or it will be in danger of soon falling, as this does, like a house of cards.

How many ways there are of kindling fire, or producing heat in bodies! By the sun's rays, by collision, by friction, by hammering, by putrefaction, by fermentation, by mixtures of fluids, by mixtures of solids with fluids, and by electricity. And yet the fire when produced, though in different bodies it may differ in circumstances, as in color, vehemence, &c., yet in the same bodies is generally the same. Does not this seem to indicate that the fire existed in the body, though in a quiescent state, before it was by any of

these means excited, disengaged, and brought forth to action and to view? May it not continue a part, and even a principal part, of the solid substance of bodies? If this should be the case, kindling fire in a body would be nothing more than developing this inflammable principle, and setting it at liberty to act in separating the parts of that body, which then exhibits the appearances of scorching, melting, burning, &c. When a man lights a hundred candles from the flame of one, without diminishing that flame, can it be properly said to have *communicated* all that fire? When a single spark from a flint, applied to a magazine of gunpowder, is immediately attended with this consequence, that the whole is in flame, exploding with immense violence, could all this fire exist first in the spark? We cannot conceive it. And thus we seem led to this supposition, that there is fire enough in all bodies to singe, melt, or burn them, whenever it is, by any means, set at liberty, so that it may exert itself upon them, or be disengaged from them. This liberty seems to be afforded it by the passage of electricity through them, which we know can and does, of itself, separate the parts even of water; and, perhaps, the immediate appearances of fire are only the effects of such separations. If so, there would be no need of supposing that the electric fluid *heats itself* by the swiftness of its motion, or heats bodies by the resistance it meets with in passing through them. They would only be heated in proportion as such separation could be more easily made. Thus a melting heat cannot be given to a

large wire in the flame of a candle, though it may to a small one; and this, not because the large wire resists *less* that action of the flame which tends to separate its parts, but because it resists it *more* than the smaller wire; or because the force being divided among more parts acts weaker on each.

This reminds me, however, of a little experiment I have frequently made, that shows, at one operation, the different effects of the same quantity of electric fluid passing through different quantities of metal. A strip of tinfoil, three inches long, a quarter of an inch wide at one end, and tapering all the way to a sharp point at the other, fixed between two pieces of glass, and having the electricity of a large glass jar sent through it, will not be discomposed in the broadest part; towards the middle will appear melted in spots; where narrower, it will be quite melted; and about half an inch of it next the point will be reduced to smoke.

You were not mistaken in supposing that your account of the effect of the pointed rod, in securing Mr. West's house from damage by a stroke of lightning, would give me great pleasure. I thank you for it most heartily, and for the pains you have taken in giving me so complete a description of its situation, form, and substance, with the draft of the melted point. There is one circumstance, viz., that the lightning was seen to diffuse itself from the foot of the rod over the wet pavement, which seems, I think, to indicate that the earth under the pavement was very dry, and that the rod should have been sunk

deeper, till it came to earth moister, and therefore apter to receive and dissipate the electric fluid. And although, in this instance, a conductor formed of nail-rods, not much above a quarter of an inch thick, served well to convey the lightning, yet some accounts I have seen from Carolina give reason to think that larger may be sometimes necessary, at least for the security of the conductor itself, which, when too small, may be destroyed in executing its office, though it does, at the same time, preserve the house. Indeed, in the construction of an instrument so new, and of which we could have so little experience, it is rather lucky that we should at first be so near the truth as we seem to be, and commit so few errors.

There is another reason for sinking deeper the lower end of the rod, and also for turning it outwards under ground to some distance from the foundation ; it is this, that water dripping from the eaves falls near the foundation, and sometimes soaks down there in greater quantities, so as to come near the end of the rod, though the ground about it be drier. In such case, this water may be exploded, that is, blown into vapor, whereby a force is generated that may damage the foundation. Water reduced to vapor is said to occupy fourteen thousand times its former space. I have sent a charge through a small glass tube, that has borne it well while empty, but when filled first with water, was shattered to pieces, and driven all about the room. Finding no part of the water on the table, I suspected it to have been reduced to vapor ; and was confirmed in that suspicion afterwards, when

I had filled a like piece of tube with ink, and laid it on a sheet of clean paper, whereon, after the explosion, I could find neither any moisture nor any sully from the ink. This experiment of the explosion of water, which I believe was first made by the most ingenious electrician, Father Beccaria, may account for what we sometimes see in a tree struck by lightning, when part of it is reduced to fine splinters like a broom ; the sap-vessels being so many tubes containing a watery fluid, which, when reduced to vapor, rends every tube lengthwise. And perhaps it is this rarefaction of the fluid in animal bodies killed by lightning or electricity, that, by separating its fibres, renders the flesh so tender, and apt so much sooner to putrefy. I think, too, that much of the damage done by lightning to stone and brick walls may sometimes be owing to the explosion of water, found during showers, running or lodging in the joints or small cavities or cracks that happen to be in the walls.

Here are some electricians, that recommend knobs instead of points on the upper end of the rods, from a supposition that the points invite the stroke. It is true that points draw electricity at greater distances in the gradual, silent way ; but knobs will draw at the greatest distance a stroke. There is an experiment that will settle this. Take a crooked wire, of the thickness of a quill, and of such a length as that, one end of it being applied to the lower part of a charged bottle, the upper may be brought near the ball on the top of the wire that is in the bottle. Let one end of this wire be furnished with a knob, and the other may be gradually

tapered to a fine point. When the point is presented to discharge the bottle, it must be brought much nearer before it will receive the stroke, than the knob requires to be. Points, besides, tend to repel the fragments of an electrized cloud, knobs draw them nearer. An experiment, which, I believe, I have shown you, of cotton fleece hanging from an electrized body, shows this clearly, when a point or a knob is presented under it.

You seem to think highly of the importance of this discovery, as do many others on our side of the water. Here it is very little regarded; so little, that, though it is now seven or eight years since it was made public, I have not heard of a single house as yet attempted to be secured by it. It is true the mischiefs done by lightning are not so frequent here as with us; and those who calculate chances may perhaps find, that not one death (or the destruction of one house) in a hundred thousand happens from that cause, and that therefore it is scarce worth while to be at any expense to guard against it. But in all countries there are particular situations of buildings more exposed than others to such accidents, and there are minds so strongly impressed with the apprehension of them, as to be very unhappy every time a little thunder is within their hearing. It may therefore be well to render this little piece of new knowledge as general and as well understood as possible, since to make us *safe* is not all its advantage; it is some to make us *easy*. And as the stroke it secures us from might have chanced, perhaps, but once in our lives, while it may relieve us

a hundred times from those painful apprehensions, the latter may possibly, on the whole, contribute more to the happiness of mankind than the former.

Your kind wishes and congratulations are very obliging.[1] I return them cordially; being, with great regard and esteem, my dear Sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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*Accounts from Carolina (mentioned in the foregoing Letter) of the Effects of Lightning on two of the Rods commonly affixed to Houses there, for securing them against Lightning.*

CHARLESTON, 1 November, 1760.

. . . "It is some years since Mr. Raven's rod was struck by lightning. I hear an account of it was published at the time, but I cannot find it. According to the best information I can now get, he had fixed to the outside of his chimney a large iron rod, several feet in length, reaching above the chimney; and to the top of this rod the points were fixed. From the lower end of this rod, a small brass wire was continued down to the top of another iron rod driven into the earth. On the ground-floor in the chimney stood a gun, leaning against the back wall, nearly opposite to where the brass wire came down on the outside. The lightning fell upon the points, did no damage to the rod they were fixed to; but the brass wire, all down till it came

[1] The closing paragraph of Mr. Kinnersley's letter, which invited the reciprocation of good wishes, ran as follows:

"And now, Sir, I most heartily congratulate you on the pleasure you must have in finding your great and well grounded expectations so far fulfilled. May this method of security from the destructive violence of one of the most awful powers of nature meet with such further success, as to induce every good and grateful heart to bless God for this important discovery! May the benefit thereof be diffused over the whole globe! May it extend to the latest posterity of mankind and make the name of Franklin, like that of Newton, *immortal!*"

opposite to the top of the gun-barrel, was destroyed.[1] There the lightning made a hole through the wall, or back of the chimney, to get to the gun-barrel,[2] down which it seems to have passed, as, although it did not hurt the barrel, it damaged the butt of the stock, and blew up some bricks of the hearth. The brass wire below the hole in the wall remained good. No other damage, as I can learn, was done to the house. I am told the same house had formerly been struck by lightning, and much damaged, before these rods were invented."

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*Mr. William Maine's Account of the Effects of the Lightning on his Rod, dated at Indian Land, in South Carolina, August 28, 1760.*

. . . "I had a set of electrical points, consisting of three prongs, of large brass wire tipt with silver, and perfectly sharp, each about seven inches long; these were riveted at equal distances into an iron nut about three quarters of an inch square, and opened at top equally to the distance of six or seven inches from point to point, in a regular triangle. This nut was screwed very tight on the top of an iron rod of about half an inch diameter, or the thickness of a common curtain-rod, composed of several joints, annexed by hooks turned at the ends of each joint, and the whole fixed to the chimney of my house by iron staples. The points were elevated (*a*) six or seven inches above the top of the chimney; and the lower joint sunk three feet in the earth, in a perpendicular direction.

"Thus stood the points on Tuesday last, about five in the evening, when the lightning broke with a violent explosion on the chimney, cut the rod square off just under the nut, and, I am persuaded, melted the points, nut, and top of the

[1] A proof that it was not of sufficient substance to conduct with safety to itself (though with safety *so far* to the wall) so large a quantity of the electric fluid.

[2] A more substantial conductor.

rod, entirely up; as, after the most diligent search, nothing of either was found (*b*), and the top of the remaining rod was cased over with a congealed solder. The lightning ran down the rod, starting almost all the staples (*c*), and unhooking the joints without affecting the rod (*d*), except on the inside of each hook where the joints were coupled, the surface of which was melted (*e*), and left as cased over with solder. No part of the chimney was damaged (*f*), only at the foundation (*g*), where it was shattered almost quite round, and several bricks were torn out (*h*). Considerable cavities were made in the earth quite round the foundation, but most within eight or nine inches of the rod. It also shattered the bottom weather-board (*i*) at one corner of the house, and made a large hole in the earth by the corner post. On the other side of the chimney, it ploughed up several furrows in the earth, some yards in length. It ran down the inside of the chimney (*k*), carrying only soot with it, and filled the whole house with its flash (*l*), smoke, and dust. It tore up the hearth in several places (*m*), and broke some pieces of China in the buffet (*n*). A copper tea-kettle standing in the chimney was beat together, as if some great weight had fallen upon it (*o*); and three holes, each about half an inch diameter, melted through the bottom (*p*). What seems to me the most surprising is, that the hearth under the kettle was not hurt, yet the bottom of the kettle was drove inward, as if the lightning proceeded from under it upwards (*q*), and the cover was thrown to the middle of the floor (*r*). The fire-dogs, an iron loggerhead, an Indian pot, an earthen cup, and a cat were all in the chimney at the time unhurt, though a great part of the hearth was torn up (*s*). My wife's sister, two children, and a negro wench were all who happened to be in the house at the time; the first and one child sat within five feet of the chimney, and were so stunned that they never saw the lightning nor heard the explosion; the wench, with the other child in her arms, sitting at a greater distance, was sensible of both; though every one

was so stunned that they did not recover for some time; however, it pleased God that no farther mischief ensued. The kitchen, at ninety feet distance, was full of negroes, who were all sensible of the shock; and some of them tell me that they felt the rod about a minute after, when it was so hot that they could not bear it in hand."

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*Remarks by Benjamin Franklin.*

The foregoing very sensible and distinct account may afford a good deal of instruction relating to the nature and effects of lightning, and to the construction and use of this instrument for averting the mischiefs of it. Like other new instruments, this appears to have been at first in some respects imperfect; and we find that we are, in this as in others, to expect improvement from experience chiefly; but there seems to be nothing in the account that should discourage us in the use of it; since, at the same time that its imperfections are discovered, the means of removing them are pretty easily to be learnt from the circumstances of the account itself; and its utility upon the whole is manifest.

One intention of the pointed rod is, to *prevent* a stroke of lightning. (See Vol. II., pages 314, 406.) But, to have a better chance of obtaining this end, the points should not be too near to the top of the chimney or highest part of the building to which they are affixed, but should be extended five or six feet above it; otherwise their operation in silently drawing off the fire (from such fragments of cloud as float in the air between the great body of cloud and the earth) will

be prevented. For the experiment with the lock of cotton hanging below the electrified prime conductor shows, that a finger under it, being a blunt body, extends the cotton, drawing its lower point downwards; when a needle, with its point presented to the cotton, makes it fly up again to the prime conductor; and that this effect is strongest when as much of the needle as possible appears above the end of the finger; grows weaker as the needle is shortened between the finger and thumb; and is reduced to nothing when only a short part below the point appears above the finger. Now, it seems, the points of Mr. Maine's rod were elevated only (*a*) *six or seven inches above the top of the chimney;* which, considering the bulk of the chimney and the house, was too small an elevation. For the great body of matter near them would hinder their being easily brought into a negative state by the repulsive power of the electrized cloud, in which negative state it is that they attract most strongly and copiously the electric fluid from other bodies and convey it into the earth.

(*b*) *Nothing of the points, &c., could be found.* This is a common effect. (See Vol. II., page 408.) Where the quantity of the electric fluid passing is too great for the conductor through which it passes, the metal is either melted, or reduced to smoke and dissipated; but where the conductor is sufficiently large, the fluid passes in it without hurting it. Thus these three wires were destroyed, while the rod to which they were fixed, being of greater substance, remained unhurt; its end only, to which they were joined, being

a little melted, some of the melted part of the lower ends of those wires uniting with it, and appearing on it like solder.

(*c*) (*d*) (*e*) As the several parts of the rod were connected only by the ends being bent round into hooks, the contact between hook and hook was much smaller than the rod; therefore the current through the metal, being confined in those narrow passages, melted part of the metal, as appeared on examining the inside of each hook. Where metal is melted by lightning, some part of it is generally exploded; and these explosions in the joints appear to have been the cause of unhooking them, and, by that violent action, of starting also most of the staples. We learn from hence, that a rod in one continued piece is preferable to one composed of links or parts hooked together.

(*f*) *No part of the chimney was damaged;* because the lightning passed in the rod. And this instance agrees with others in showing, that the second and principal intention of the rods is obtainable, viz., that of *conducting* the lightning. In all the instances yet known of the lightning's falling on any house guarded by rods, it has pitched down upon the point of the rod, and has not fallen upon any other part of the house. Had the lightning fallen on this chimney, unfurnished with a rod, it would probably have rent it from top to bottom, as we see, by the effects of the lightning on the points and rod, that its quantity was very great; and we know that many chimneys have been so demolished. But *no part of this was damaged, only* (*f*) (*g*) (*h*) *at the foundation,*

*where it was shattered, and several bricks torn out.* Here we learn the principal defect in fixing this rod. The lower joint, being sunk but three feet into the earth, did not, it seems, go low enough to come at water, or a large body of earth so moist as to receive readily from its end the quantity it conducted. The electric fluid therefore, thus accumulated near the lower end of the rod, quitted it at the surface of the earth, dividing in search of other passages. Part of it tore up the surface in furrows, and made holes in it; part entered the bricks of the foundation, which being near the earth are generally moist, and, in exploding that moisture, shattered them. (See *supra*, page 176.) Part went through or under the foundation, and got under the hearth, blowing up great part of the bricks (*m*) (*s*), and producing the other effects (*o*) (*p*) (*q*) (*r*). The iron dogs, loggerhead, and iron pot were not hurt, being of sufficient substance, and they probably protected the cat. The copper tea-kettle, being thin, suffered some damage. Perhaps, though found on a sound part of the hearth, it might at the time of the stroke have stood on the part blown up, which will account both for the bruising and melting.

That *it ran down the inside of the chimney* (*k*), I apprehend must be a mistake. Had it done so, I imagine it would have brought something more than soot with it; it would probably have ripped off the pargeting, and brought down fragments of plaster and bricks. The shake, from the explosion on the rod, was sufficient to shake down a good deal of loose soot. Lightning does not usually

enter houses by the doors, windows, or chimneys, as open passages, in the manner that air enters them; its nature is, to be attracted by substances, that are conductors of electricity; it penetrates and passes *in* them, and, if they are not good conductors, as are neither wood, brick, stone, nor plaster, it is apt to rend them in its passage. It would not easily pass through the air from a cloud to a building, were it not for the aid afforded in its passage by intervening fragments of clouds below the main body, or by the falling rain.

It is said that *the house was filled up with its flash* (*l*). Expressions like this are common in accounts of the effects of lightning, from which we are apt to understand that the lightning filled the house. Our language indeed seems to want a word to express the *light* of lightning, as distinct from the lightning itself. When a tree on a hill is struck by it, the lightning of that stroke exists only in a narrow vein between the cloud and tree, but its light fills a vast space many miles round; and people at the greatest distance from it are apt to say: "The lightning came into our rooms through our window." As it is in itself extremely bright, it cannot, when so near as to strike a house, fail illuminating highly every room in it through the windows; and this I suppose to have been the case at Mr. Maine's; and that, except in and near the hearth, from the causes above mentioned, it was not in any other part of the house; *the flash* meaning no more than *the light* of the lightning. It is for want of considering this

difference, that people suppose there is a kind of lightning not attended with thunder. In fact, there is probably a loud explosion accompanying every flash of lightning, and at the same instant; but as sound travels slower than light, we often hear the sound some seconds of time after having seen the light; and as sound does not travel so far as light, we sometimes see the light at a distance too great to hear the sound.

(*n*) The *breaking some pieces of China in the buffet*, may nevertheless seem to indicate that the lightning was there; but as there is no mention of its having hurt any part of the buffet, or of the walls of the house, I should rather ascribe that effect to the concussion of the air, or shake of the house by the explosion.

Thus to me it appears that the house and its inhabitants were saved by the rod, though the rod itself was unjointed by the stroke; and that, if it had been made of one piece, and sunk deeper in the earth, or had entered the earth at a greater distance from the foundation, the mentioned small damages (except the melting of the points) would not have happened.

## CCVI.

### TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Monday morning, 8 March, 1762.

DEAR POLLY:—Your good mamma has just been saying to me that she wonders what can possibly be the reason she has not had a line from you in so long

a time. I have made no complaint of that kind, being conscious that, by not writing myself, I have forfeited all claim to such favor, though no letters give me more pleasure, and I often wish to hear from you; but indolence grows upon me with years, and writing grows more and more irksome to me.

Have you finished your course of philosophy? No more doubts to be resolved? No more questions to ask? If so, you may now be at full leisure to improve yourself in cards. Adieu, my dear child, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—Respects to Mrs. Tickell, &c. Mamma bids me tell you she is lately much afflicted and half a cripple with the rheumatism. I send you two or three French *Gazettes de Médecine*, which I have just received from Paris, wherein is a translation of the extract of a letter you copied out for me. You will return them with my French letters on Electricity, when you have perused them.

## CCVII.

### TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

LONDON, 22 March, 1762.

I must retract the charge of idleness in your studies, when I find you have gone through the doubly difficult task of reading so big a book, on an abstruse subject, and in a foreign language.

In answer to your question concerning the Leyden phial. The hand that holds the bottle receives and

conducts away the electric fluid that is driven out of the outside by the repulsive power of that which is forced into the inside of the bottle. As long as that power remains in the same situation, it must prevent the return of what it had expelled; though the hand would readily supply the quantity if it could be received. Your affectionate friend, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCVIII.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 24 March, 1762.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I condole with you most sincerely on the death of our good mother,[1] being extremely sensible of the distress and affliction it must have thrown you into. Your comfort will be, that no care was wanting on your part towards her, and that she had lived as long as this life could afford her any rational enjoyment. It is, I am sure, a satisfaction to me, that I cannot charge myself with having ever failed in one instance of duty and respect to her during the many years that she called me son. The circumstances attending her death were indeed unhappy in some respects; but something must bring us all to our end, and few of us shall see her length of days. My love to brother John Read, and sister and cousin Debby, and young cousin Johnny Read, and let them all know that I sympathize with them all affectionately.

This I write in haste, Mr. Beatty having just called

[1] Mrs. Read, the mother of Mrs. Franklin.

on me to let me know, that he is about to set out for Portsmouth, in order to sail for America. I am finishing all business here in order for my return, which will either be in the Virginia fleet, or by the packet of May next; I am not yet determined which. I pray God grant us a happy meeting.

We are all well, and Billy presents his duty. Mr. Strahan has received your letter, and wonders he has not been able to persuade you to come over. Mrs. Stevenson desires her compliments; she expected Sally would have answered her daughter's letter, that went with the gold needle. I have received yours by the last packet, and one from our friend Mr. Hughes. I will try to write a line to him if I have time. If not, please to tell him I will do all I can to serve him in his affair. Acquaint Mr. Charles Norris that I send him a gardener in Bolitho's ship. The particulars of your letters I shall answer by the same ship. I can now only add that I am, as ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCIX.

### FROM DAVID HUME TO B. FRANKLIN.

EDINBURGH, 10 May, 1762.

DEAR SIR:—I have a great many thanks to give you for your goodness in remembering my request, and for the exact description, which you sent me of your method of preserving houses from thunder. I communicated it to our Philosophical Society, as you gave me permission; and they desire me to tell you, that they claim it as their own, and

intend to enrich with it the first collection, which they may publish. The established rule of our Society is, that, after a paper is read to them, it is delivered by them to some member, who is obliged, in a subsequent meeting, to read some paper of remarks upon it.

It was communicated to our friend, Mr. Russel; who is not very expeditious in finishing any undertaking; and he did not read his remarks till the last week, which is the reason why I have been so late in acknowledging your favor. Mr. Russel's remarks, besides the just praises of your invention, contained only two proposals for improving it. One was that in houses where the rain-water is carried off the roof by a lead pipe, this metallic body might be employed as a conductor to the electric fire, and save the expense of a new apparatus. Another was, that the wire might be carried down to the foundation of the house, and be thence conveyed below ground to the requisite distance, which would better secure it against accidents. I thought it proper to convey to you these two ideas of so ingenious a man, that you might adopt them, if they appear to you well founded.

I am very sorry that you intend soon to leave our hemisphere. America has sent us many good things, gold, silver, sugar, tobacco, indigo, &c.; but you are the first philosopher, and indeed the first great man of letters, for whom we are beholden to her. It is our own fault that we have not kept him; whence it appears that we do not agree with Solomon, that wisdom is above gold, for we take care never to send back an ounce of the latter which we once lay our fingers upon.

I saw yesterday our friend Sir Alexander Dick, who desired me to present his compliments to you. We are all very unwilling to think of your settling in America, and that there is some chance for our never seeing you again; but no one regrets it more than does,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

DAVID HUME.

# CCX.

## TO DAVID HUME.[1]

LONDON, 19 May, 1762.

DEAR SIR :—It is no small pleasure to me to hear from you that my paper on the means of preserving buildings from damage by lightning was acceptable to the Philosophical Society. Mr. Russel's proposals of improvement are very sensible and just. A leaden spout or pipe is undoubtedly a good conductor, so far as it goes. If the conductor enters the ground just at the foundation, and from thence is carried horizontally to some well, or to a distant rod driven downright into the earth, I would then propose that the part under the ground should be lead, as less liable to consume with rust than iron. Because, if the conductor near the foot of the wall should be wasted, the lightning might act on the moisture of the earth, and by suddenly rarefying it occasion an explosion that may damage the foundation. In the experiment of discharging my large case of electrical bottles through a piece of small glass tube filled with water, the suddenly rarefied water has exploded with a force equal, I think, to that of so much gunpowder; bursting the tube into many pieces, and driving them with violence in all directions and to all parts of the room. The shivering of trees into small splinters, like a broom, is probably owing to this rarefaction of the sap in the longitudinal pores, or capillary pipes, in the substance of the wood. And the blowing up of bricks or stones

[1] The letter from Mr. Hume, to which this is a reply, may be seen *supra*, under date of May 10, 1762.

in a hearth, rending stones out of a foundation, and splitting of walls, are also probably effects sometimes of rarefied moisture in the earth, under the hearth, or in the walls. We should therefore have a durable conductor under ground, or convey the lightning to the earth at some distance.

It must afford Lord Marischal a good deal of diversion to preside in a dispute so ridiculous as that you mention. Judges in their decisions often use precedents. I have somewhere met with one that is what the lawyers call a *case in point*. The Church people and the Puritans in a country town had once a bitter contention concerning the erecting of a Maypole, which the former desired and the latter opposed. Each party endeavoured to strengthen itself by obtaining the authority of the mayor, directing or forbidding a Maypole. He heard their altercation with great patience, and then gravely determined thus: "You, that are for having no Maypole, shall have no Maypole; and you, that are for having a Maypole, shall have a Maypole. Get about your business, and let me hear no more of this quarrel."[1]

Your compliment of *gold* and *wisdom* is very obliging to me, but a little injurious to your country. The various value of every thing in every part of this world arises, you know, from the various proportions of the quantity to the demand. We are told that gold and silver in Solomon's time were so plenty, as to be of no more value in his country than the stones in the

[1] Lord Marischal was a person of consideration in Neufchâtel, to whom Dr. Franklin had communicated, through Mr. Hume, a paper containing directions for putting up lightning rods.

street. You have here at present just such a plenty of wisdom. Your people are, therefore, not to be censured for desiring no more among them than they have; and if I have *any*, I should certainly carry it where, from its scarcity, it may probably come to a better market.

I nevertheless regret extremely the leaving a country in which I have received so much friendship, and friends whose conversation has been so agreeable and so improving to me; and that I am henceforth to reside at so great a distance from them is no small mortification to, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—My respectful compliments, if you please, to Sir Alexander Dick, Lord Kames, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Russel, and any other inquiring friends. I shall write to them before I leave the Island.

## CCXI.

### FIRE.

CRAVEN STREET, 1762.

Did you ever see people at work with spades and pickaxes, digging a cellar? When they have loosened the earth perhaps a foot deep, that loose earth must be carried off, or they can go no deeper; it is in their way, and hinders the operation of the instruments.

When the first foot of earth is removed, they can dig and loosen the earth a foot deeper. But if those who remove the earth should with it take away the

spades and pickaxes, the work will be equally obstructed as if they had left the loose earth unremoved.

I imagine the operation of fire upon fuel with the assistance of air may be in some degree similar to this. Fire penetrates bodies, and separates their parts; the air receives and carries off the parts separated, which, if not carried off, would impede the action of the fire. With this assistance therefore of a moderate current of air, the separation increases, but too violent a blast carries off the fire itself; and thus any fire may be blown out, as a candle by the breath, if the blast be proportionable.

But if air contributed inflammatory matter, as some have thought, then it should seem that, the more air, the more the flame would be augmented, which beyond certain bounds does not agree with the fact.

Some substances take fire, that is, are kindled by the application of fire, much sooner than others. This is in proportion as they are good or bad conductors of fire, and as their parts cohere with less or more strength. A bad conductor of fire not easily permitting it to penetrate and be absorbed, and its force divided among the whole substance, its operation is so much the stronger on the surface to which it is applied, and is in a small depth of surface strong enough to produce the separation of parts which we will call *burning*. All oils and fats, wax, sulphur, and most vegetable substances, are bad conductors of fire. The oil of a lamp, burning at the top, may be scarce warm at the bottom; a candle or a stick of wood,

inflamed at one end, is cool at the other. Metals, which are better conductors, are not so easily kindled, though, when sufficient fire is applied to them to separate their parts, they will all burn. But the fire applied to their surfaces enters more easily, is absorbed and divided; and not enough left on the surface to overcome the cohesion of their parts. A close contact with metals will for the same reason prevent the burning of more inflammable substances. A flaxen thread, bound close round an iron poker, will not burn in the flame of a candle; for it must imbibe a certain quantity of fire before it can burn, that is, before its parts can separate; but the poker, as fast as the fire arrives, takes it from the thread, conducts it away, and divides it in its own substance.

Common fire I conceive to be collected by friction from the common mass of that fluid, in the same manner as the electrical fluid is collected by friction, which I have endeavoured to explain in some of my electrical papers, and, to avoid length in this letter, refer you to them. In wheels, the particles of grease and oil acting as so many little rollers, and preventing friction between the wood and wood, do thereby prevent the collection of fire.

## CCXII.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

LONDON, 7 June, 1762.

DEAR POLLY:—I received your favor of the 27th past, and have since expected your intended philo-

sophical epistle. But you have not had leisure to write it!

Your good mamma is now perfectly well, as I think, excepting now and then a few rheumatic complaints, which, however, seem gradually diminishing. I am glad to hear you are about to enjoy the happiness of seeing and being with your friends at Bromley. My best respects to the good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth, and say to the dear ladies that I kiss their hands respectfully and affectionately.

Our ships for America do not sail so soon as I expected; it will be yet five or six weeks before we embark, and leave the old world for the new. I fancy I feel a little like dying saints, who, in parting with those they love in this world, are only comforted with the hope of more perfect happiness in the next. I have, in America, connexions of the most engaging kind; and, happy as I have been in the friendships here contracted, *those* promise me greater and more lasting felicity. But God only knows whether these promises shall be fulfilled. Adieu, my dear good girl, and believe me ever your affectionate friend.

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXIII.

### ELECTRICAL EXPERIMENTS ON AMBER.

Saturday, 3 July, 1762.

To try, at the request of a friend, whether amber finely powdered might be melted and run together again by means of the electric fluid, I took a piece of

small glass tube, about two inches and a half long, the bore about one twelfth of an inch diameter, the glass itself about the same thickness. I introduced into this tube some powder of amber, and with two pieces of wire nearly fitting the bore, one inserted at one end, the other at the other, I rammed the powder hard between them in the middle of the tube, where it stuck fast, and was in length about half an inch. Then, leaving the wires in the tube, I made them part of the electric circuit, and discharged through them three rows of my case of bottles. The event was, that the glass was broke into very small pieces and those dispersed with violence in all directions. As I did not expect this, I had not, as in other experiments, laid thick paper over the glass to save my eyes, so several of the pieces struck my face smartly, and one of them cut my lip a little, so as to make it bleed. I could find no part of the amber; but the table where the tube lay was stained very black in spots, such as might be made by a thick smoke forced on it by a blast, and the air was filled with a strong smell, somewhat like that from burnt gunpowder. Whence I imagined that the amber was burnt, and had exploded as gunpowder would have done in the same circumstances.

That I might better see the effect on the amber, I made the next experiment in a tube formed of a card rolled up and bound strongly with packthread. Its bore was about one eighth of an inch diameter. I rammed powder of amber into this as I had done into the other, and as the quantity of amber was greater,

I increased the quantity of electric fluid, by discharging through it at once five rows of my bottles. On opening the tube I found that some of the powder had exploded; an impression was made on the tube, though it was not hurt, and most of the powder remaining was turned black, which I suppose might be by the smoke forced through it from the burned part; some of it was hard; but as it powdered again when pressed by the fingers, I suppose that hardness not to arise from melting any parts in it, but merely from my ramming the powder when I charged the tube.

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXIV.

### TO JOHN BAPTIST BECCARIA.

LONDON, 13 July, 1762.

REVEREND SIR:—I once promised myself the pleasure of seeing you at Turin; but as that is not now likely to happen, being just about returning to my native country, America, I sit down to take leave of you (among others of my European friends that I cannot see) by writing.

I thank you for the honorable mention you have so frequently made of me in your letters to Mr. Collinson and others; for the generous defence you undertook and executed with so much success, of my electrical opinions; and for the valuable present you have made me of your new work, from which I have received great information and pleasure. I wish I could in return entertain you with any thing new of mine on that subject; but I have not lately pursued it. Nor do I

know of any one here that is at present much engaged in it.

Perhaps, however, it may be agreeable to you, as you live in a musical country, to have an account of the new instrument lately added here to the great number that charming science was before possessed of. As it is an instrument that seems peculiarly adapted to Italian music, especially that of the soft and plaintive kind, I will endeavour to give you such a description of it, and of the manner of constructing it, that you or any of your friends may be enabled to imitate it, if you incline so to do, without being at the expense and trouble of the many experiments I have made in endeavouring to bring it to its present perfection.

You have doubtless heard the sweet tone that is drawn from a drinking glass by passing a wet finger round its brim. One Mr. Puckeridge, a gentleman from Ireland, was the first who thought of playing tunes, formed of these tones. He collected a number of glasses of different sizes, fixed them near each other on a table, and tuned them by putting into them water more or less, as each note required. The tones were brought out by passing his fingers round their brims. He was unfortunately burned here, with his instrument, in a fire which consumed the house he lived in. Mr. E. Delaval, a most ingenious member of our Royal Society, made one in imitation of it, with a better choice and form of glasses, which was the first I saw or heard. Being charmed by the sweetness of its tones, and the music he produced from it,

I wished only to see the glasses disposed in a more convenient form, and brought together in a narrower compass, so as to admit of a greater number of tones, and all within reach of hand to a person sitting before the instrument, which I accomplished, after various intermediate trials and less commodious forms, both of glasses and construction, in the following manner.

The glasses are blown as near as possible in the form of hemispheres, having each an open neck or socket in the middle. (See Plate II., Figure 1.) The thickness of the glass near the brim about a tenth of an inch, or hardly quite so much, but thicker as it comes nearer the neck, which in the largest glasses is about an inch deep, and an inch and half wide within, these dimensions lessening, as the glasses themselves diminish in size, except that the neck of the smallest ought not to be shorter than half an inch. The largest glass is nine inches diameter, and the smallest three inches. Between these two are twenty-three different sizes, differing from each other a quarter of an inch in diameter. To make a single instrument there should be at least six glasses blown of each size; and out of this number one may probably pick thirty-seven glasses (which are sufficient for three octaves with all the semitones) that will be each either the note one wants or a little sharper than that note, and all fitting so well into each other as to taper pretty regularly from the largest to the smallest. It is true there are not thirty-seven sizes, but it often happens that two of the same size differ a note or half note in tone, by reason of a difference in thickness, and these may be placed

# ARMONICA.

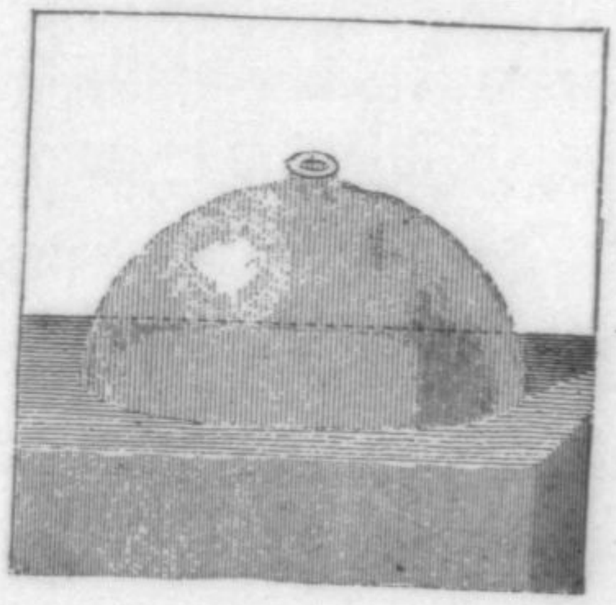
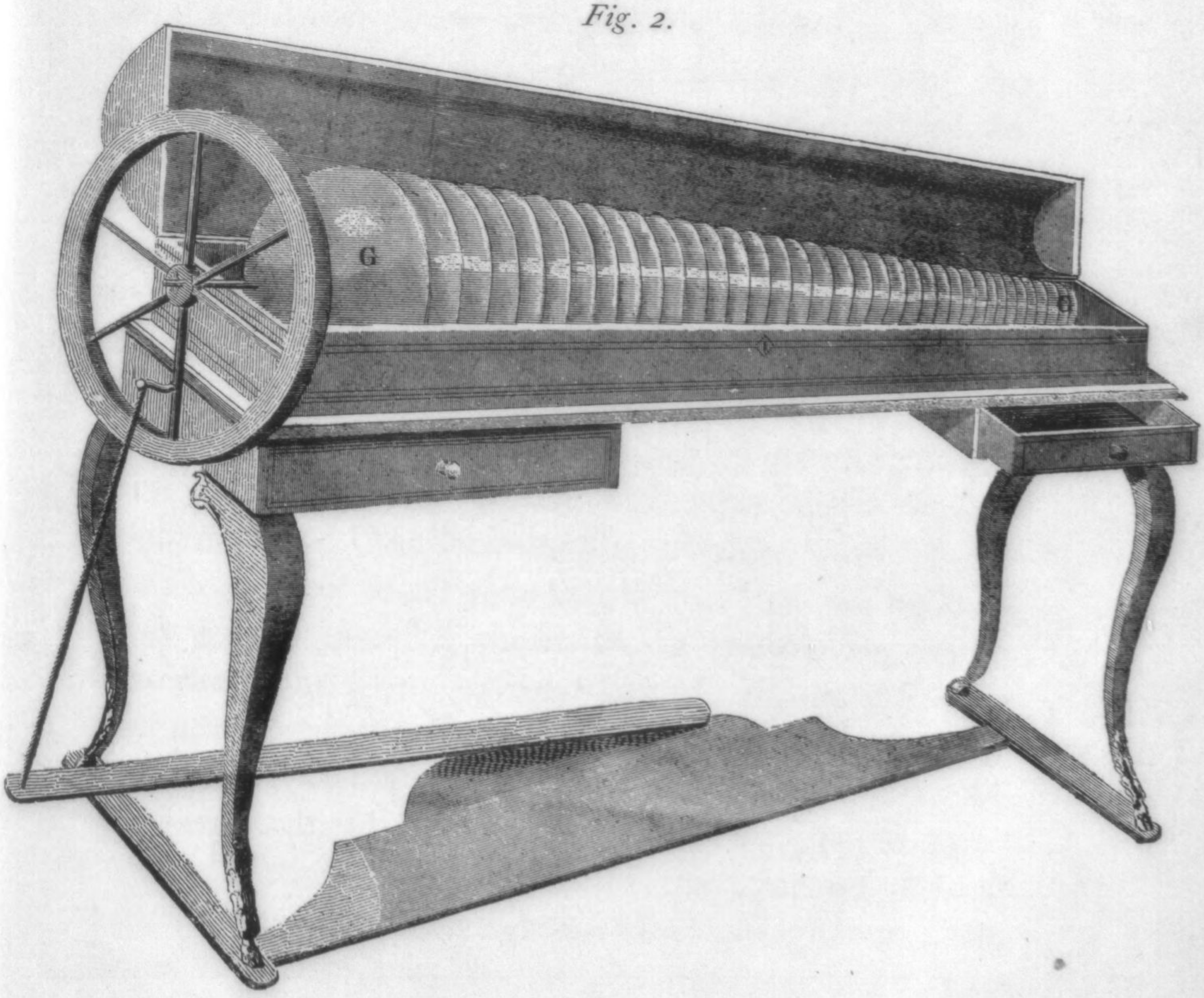


*Fig. 1.*

*Fig. 2.*



one in the other without sensibly hurting the regularity of the taper form.

The glasses being chosen, and every one marked with a diamond the note you intend it for, they are to be tuned by diminishing the thickness of those that are too sharp. This is done by grinding them round from the neck towards the brim, the breadth of one or two inches, as may be required; often trying the glass by a well-tuned harpsichord, comparing the tone drawn from the glass by your finger with the note you want, as sounded by that string of the harpsichord. When you come nearer the matter, be careful to wipe the glass clean and dry before each trial, because the tone is something flatter when the glass is wet than it will be when dry; and grinding a very little between each trial, you will thereby tune to great exactness. The more care is necessary in this, because, if you go below your required tone, there is no sharpening it again but by grinding somewhat off the brim, which will afterwards require polishing, and thus increase the trouble.

The glasses being thus tuned, you are to be provided with a case for them, and a spindle on which they are to be fixed. (See Plate II., Figure 2.) My case is about three feet long, eleven inches every way wide within at the biggest end, and five inches at the smallest end; for it tapers all the way, to adapt it better to the conical figure of the set of glasses. This case opens in the middle of its height, and the upper part turns up by hinges fixed behind. The spindle, which is of hard iron, lies horizontally from

end to end of the box within, exactly in the middle, and is made to turn on brass gudgeons at each end. It is round, an inch diameter at the thickest end, and tapering to a quarter of an inch at the smallest. A square shank comes from its thickest end through the box, on which shank a wheel is fixed by a screw. This wheel serves as a fly to make the motion equable, when the spindle, with the glasses, is turned by the foot like a spinning-wheel. My wheel is of mahogany, eighteen inches diameter, and pretty thick, so as to conceal near its circumference about twenty-five pounds of lead. An ivory pin is fixed in the face of this wheel, and about four inches from the axis. Over the neck of this pin is put the loop of the string that comes up from the movable step to give it motion. The case stands on a neat frame with four legs.

To fix the glasses on the spindle, a cork is first to be fitted in each neck pretty tight, and projecting a little without the neck, that the neck of one may not touch the inside of another when put together, for that would make a jarring. These corks are to be perforated with holes of different diameters, so as to suit that part of the spindle on which they are to be fixed. When a glass is put on, by holding it stiffly between both hands, while another turns the spindle, it may be gradually brought to its place. But care must be taken that the hole be not too small, lest, in forcing it up, the neck should split; nor too large, lest the glass, not being firmly fixed, should turn or move on the spindle, so as to touch and jar against

its neighbouring glass. The glasses thus are placed one in another, the largest on the biggest end of the spindle, which is to the left hand; the neck of this glass is towards the wheel, and the next goes into it in the same position, only about an inch of its brim appearing beyond the brim of the first; thus proceeding, every glass when fixed shows about an inch of its brim (or three quarters of an inch, or half an inch, as they grow smaller) beyond the brim of the glass that contains it; and it is from these exposed parts of each glass that the tone is drawn, by laying a finger upon one of them as the spindle and glasses turn round.

My largest glass is G, a little below the reach of a common voice, and my highest G, including three complete octaves. To distinguish the glasses the more readily to the eye, I have painted the apparent parts of the glasses within side, every semitone white, and the other notes of the octave with the seven prismatic colors, *viz.*, C, red; D, orange; E, yellow; F, green; G, blue; A, indigo; B, purple; and C, red again; so that glasses of the same color (the white excepted) are always octaves to each other.

This instrument is played upon, by sitting before the middle of the set of glasses as before the keys of a harpsichord, turning them with the foot, and wetting them now and then with a spunge and clean water. The fingers should be first a little soaked in water, and quite free from all greasiness; a little fine chalk upon them is sometimes useful, to make them catch the glass and bring out the tone more readily.

Both hands are used, by which means different parts are played together. Observe, that the tones are best drawn out when the glasses turn *from* the ends of the fingers, not when they turn *to* them.

The advantages of this instrument are, that its tones are incomparably sweet beyond those of any other; that they may be swelled and softened at pleasure by stronger or weaker pressures of the finger, and continued to any length; and that the instrument, being once well tuned, never again wants tuning.

In honor of your musical language, I have borrowed from it the name of this instrument, calling it the Armonica.[1]

With great esteem and respect, I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXV.

TO OLIVER NEAVE.

20 July, 1762.

DEAR SIR:—I have perused your paper on sound, and would freely mention to you, as you desire it, every thing that appeared to me to need correction; but nothing of that kind occurs to me, unless it be where you speak of the air as "the *best* medium for conveying sound." Perhaps this is speaking rather too positively, if there be, as I think there are, some other mediums that will convey it farther and more readily. It is a well-known experiment, that the

[1] Some other particulars respecting the *Armonica* may be found in a letter to M. Dubourg, under the date of December 8, 1772.—EDITOR.

scratching of a pin at one end of a long piece of timber may be heard by an ear applied near the other end, though it could not be heard at the same distance through the air. And two stones being struck smartly together under water, the stroke may be heard at a greater distance by an ear also placed under water, than it can be heard through the air. I think I have heard it near a mile; how much farther it may be heard I know not; but suppose a great deal farther, because the sound did not seem faint, as if at a distance, like distant sounds through air, but smart and strong, and as if present just at the ear. I wish you would repeat these experiments now you are upon the subject, and add your own observations. And, if you were to repeat, with your naturally exact attention and observation, the common experiment of the bell in the exhausted receiver, possibly something new may occur to you, in considering:

1. Whether the experiment is not ambiguous; that is, whether the gradual exhausting of the air, as it creates an increasing difference of pressure on the outside, may not occasion in the glass a difficulty of vibrating, that renders it less fit to communicate to the air without the vibrations that strike it from within; and the diminution of the sound arise from this cause, rather than from the diminution of the air?

2. Whether, as the particles of air themselves are at a distance from each other, there must not be some medium between them, proper for conveying sound, since otherwise it would stop at the first particle?

3. Whether the great difference we experience in hearing sounds at a distance, when the wind blows towards us from the sonorous body, or towards that from us, can be well accounted for by adding to or subtracting from the swiftness of sound the degree of swiftness that is in the wind at the time? The latter is so small in proportion, that it seems as if it could scarce produce any sensible effect, and yet the difference is very great. Does not this give some hint, as if there might be a subtile fluid, the conductor of sound, which moves at different times in different directions over the surface of the earth, and whose motion may perhaps be much swifter than that of the air in our strongest winds; and that, in passing through air, it may communicate that motion to the air which we call wind, though a motion in no degree so swift as its own?

4. It is somewhere related that a pistol, fired on the top of an exceeding high mountain, made a noise like thunder in the valleys below. Perhaps this fact is not exactly related; but, if it is, would not one imagine from it that the rarer the air, the greater sound might be produced in it from the same cause?

5. Those balls of fire which are sometimes seen passing over a country, computed by philosophers to be often thirty miles high at least, sometimes burst at that height; the air must be exceeding rare there, and yet the explosion produces a sound that is heard at that distance, and for seventy miles round on the surface of the earth, so violent too as to shake buildings and give an apprehension of an earthquake.

Does not this look as if a rare atmosphere, almost a vacuum, was no bad conductor of sound?

I have not made up my own mind on these points, and only mention them for your consideration, knowing that every subject is the better for your handling it. With the greatest esteem, I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXVI.

TO MR. WILLIAM STRAHAN AT BATH.

LONDON, 20 July, 1762.

DEAR SIR :—I received your very kind letter and invitation to Bath where I am sure I could spend some days very happily with you and Mrs. Strahan, if my time would permit; but the man-of-war, that is to be our convoy, is under sailing orders for the 30th of this month so that 't is impossible for me to leave London till I leave it forever, having at least twenty days' work to do in the ten days that are only left me.

I shall send to the Angel Inn in Oxford a parcel directed to you, containing books I send as presents to some acquaintance there; which I beg you would cause to be delivered. I shall write a line to one of them, as you desire. The parcel is to go by the Thursday's coach.

I hope for the pleasure of seeing you before I set out. Billy and Mr. Stevenson join in respects and best wishes for you and Mrs. Strahan, with, dear Friend, Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I feel here like a thing out of its place, and useless because it is out of its place. How then can I any longer be happy in England? You have great powers of persuasion, and might easily prevail on me to do any thing; but not any longer to do nothing. I must go home. Adieu.

## CCXVII.

TO MR. WILLIAM STRAHAN AT OXFORD.

LONDON, 23 July, 1762.

DEAR STRANEY:—As Dr. Hawkesworth calls you, I send you inclosed a line to my good friend Dr. Kelley; which you will do me the favour to deliver with the parcel directed to him. As it is vacation time I doubt whether any other acquaintance of mine may be in Oxford, or at least any on whose good nature I could so far presume; tho' according to the way of the world, having received a civility, gives one a kind of right to demand another; they took the trouble of showing me Oxford, and therefore I might request them to show it to any of my friends. None of the Oxford people are under any other obligation to me than that of having already oblig'd me, and being oblig'd to go on as they have begun. My best respects to Mrs. Strahan, and love to little Peggy. They say we are to sail in a week or ten days. I expect to see you once more. I value myself much, on being able to resolve on doing the right thing, in opposition to your almost

irresistible eloquence, secretly supported and backed by my own treacherous inclinations. Adieu, my dear friend.

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXVIII.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

PORTSMOUTH, 11 August, 1762.

MY DEAR POLLY:—This is the best paper I can get at this wretched inn, but it will convey what is intrusted to it as faithfully as the finest. It will tell my Polly how much her friend is afflicted that he must, perhaps, never again see one for whom he has so sincere an affection, joined to so perfect an esteem; who he once flattered himself might become his own, in the tender relation of a child, but can now entertain such pleasing hopes no more. Will it tell *how much* he is afflicted? No, it cannot.

Adieu, my dearest child. I will call you so. Why should I not call you so, since I love you with all the tenderness of a father? Adieu. May the God of all goodness shower down his choicest blessings upon you, and make you infinitely happier than that event would have made you. And wherever I am, believe me to be, with unalterable affection, my dear Polly, your sincere friend,[1]

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Franklin had earnestly desired his son to marry Miss Stevenson. William, however, became too much interested in a young West Indian girl named Downs, and was already affianced to her. The tone of this letter shows that it was a bitter disappointment to the father, as it was no doubt a misfortune to the son.

# CCXIX.

## TO LORD KAMES.

PORTSMOUTH, 17 August, 1762.

MY DEAR LORD :—I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends in it without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those who are leaving this world for the next: grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future. These different passions all affect their minds at once; and these have *tendered* me down exceedingly. It is usual for the dying to beg forgiveness of their surviving friends, if they have ever offended them.

Can you, my Lord, forgive my long silence, and my not acknowledging till now the favor you did me in sending me your excellent book? Can you make some allowance for a fault in others which you have never experienced in yourself; for the bad habit of postponing from day to day what one every day resolves to do to-morrow?—a habit that grows upon us with years, and whose only excuse is we know not how to mend it. If you are disposed to favor me you will also consider how much one's mind is taken up and distracted by the many little affairs one has to settle before the undertaking such a voyage, after so long a residence in a country; and how little, in such a situation, one's mind is fitted for serious and attentive reading; which, with regard to the *Elements of Criticism*, I intended before I should write. I can

now only confess and endeavour to amend. In packing up my books, I have reserved yours to read on the passage. I hope I shall therefore be able to write to you upon it soon after my arrival. At present I can only return my thanks, and say that the parts I have read gave me both pleasure and instruction; that I am convinced of your position, new as it was to me, that a good taste in the arts contributes to the improvement of morals; and that I have had the satisfaction of hearing the work universally commended by those who have read it.

And now, my dear Sir, accept my sincere thanks for the kindness you have shown me, and my best wishes of happiness to you and yours. Wherever I am, I shall esteem the friendship you honor me with as one of the felicities of my life; I shall endeavour to cultivate it by a more punctual correspondence; and I hope frequently to hear of your welfare and prosperity. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately yours, B. FRANKLIN.[1]

## CCXX.

TO MR. WILLIAM STRAHAN.

PORTSMOUTH, Monday, 23 August, 1762.

DEAR SIR:—I have been two nights on board expecting to sail, but the wind continuing contrary, am just now on shore again, and have met with your kind letter of the 20th. I thank you even for the

[1] Though Dr. Franklin sailed from England in the latter half of August, and soon after writing this letter, he did not reach Philadelphia until the 1st of November. He had been absent five years, having arrived in England in July, 1757. The Assembly of Pennsylvania promptly voted their thanks to him for his services as their agent.

reproofs it contains, tho' I have not altogether deserved them. I cannot, I assure you, quit even this disagreeable place without regret, as it carries me still farther from those I love, and from the opportunities of hearing of their welfare. The attraction of reason is at present for the other side of the water, but that of inclination will be for this side. You know which usually prevails. I shall probably make but this one vibration and settle here forever. Nothing will prevent it, if I can, as I hope I can, prevail with Mrs. F. to accompany me, especially if we have a peace. I will not tell you that to be near and with you and yours is any part of my inducement. It would look like a compliment extorted from me by your pretences to insignificancy. Nor will I own that your persuasions and arguments have wrought this change in my former resolutions; tho' it is true that they have frequently intruded themselves into my consideration whether I would or not. I trust, however, that we shall once more see each other, and be happy again together, which God, &c.

My love to Mrs. Strahan, and your amiable and valuable children. Heaven bless you all whatever becomes of Your much oblig'd and affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXI.

TO JOHN PRINGLE, IN LONDON.

PHILADELPHIA, 1 December, 1762.

SIR:—During our passage to Madeira, the weather being warm, and the cabin windows constantly open

for the benefit of the air, the candles at night flared and ran very much, which was an inconvenience. At Madeira, we got oil to burn, and with a common glass tumbler or beaker, slung in wire, and suspended to the ceiling of the cabin, and a little wire hoop for the wick, furnished with corks to float on the oil, I made an Italian lamp, that gave us very good light all over the table. The glass at bottom contained water to about one third of its height; another third was taken up with oil; the rest was left empty that the sides of the glass might protect the flame from the wind. There is nothing remarkable in all this; but what follows is particular. At supper, looking on the lamp, I remarked that though the surface of the oil was perfectly tranquil, and duly preserved its position and distance with regard to the brim of the glass, the water under the oil was in great commotion, rising and falling in irregular waves, which continued during the whole evening. The lamp was kept burning as a watch-light all night, till the oil was spent and the water only remained. In the morning I observed that though the motion of the ship continued the same, the water was now quiet, and its surface as tranquil as that of the oil had been the evening before. At night again, when oil was put upon it, the water resumed its irregular motions, rising in high waves almost to the surface of the oil, but without disturbing the smooth level of that surface. And this was repeated every day during the voyage.

Since my arrival in America I have repeated the experiment frequently thus. I have put a pack-thread

round a tumbler, with strings to the same, from each side, meeting above it in a knot at about a foot distance from the top of the tumbler. Then putting in as much water as would fill about one third part of the tumbler, I lifted it up by the knot, and swung it to and fro in the air; when the water appeared to keep its place in the tumbler as steadily as if it had been ice. But pouring gently in upon the water about as much oil, and then again swinging it in the air as before, the tranquillity before possessed by the water was transferred to the surface of the oil, and the water under it was agitated with the same commotions as at sea.

I have shown this experiment to a number of ingenious persons. Those who are but slightly acquainted with the principles of hydrostatics, &c., are apt to fancy immediately that they understand it, and readily attempt to explain it; but their explanations have been different, and to me not very intelligible. Others, more deeply skilled in those principles, seem to wonder at it, and promise to consider it. And I think it is worth considering; for a new appearance, if it cannot be explained by our old principles, may afford us new ones, of use perhaps in explaining some other obscure parts of natural knowledge. I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXII.

### TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

PHILADELPHIA, 2 December, 1762.

DEAR STRANEY:—As good Dr. Hawkesworth calls you, to whom my best respects. I got home well

the 1st of November, and had the happiness to find my little family perfectly well, and that Dr. Smith's reports of the diminutions of my friends were all false. My house has been full of a succession of them from morning to night, ever since my arrival, congratulating me on my return with the utmost cordiality and affection. My fellow citizens, while I was on the sea, had, at the annual election, chosen me unanimously, as they had done every year while I was in England, to be their representative in Assembly and would, they say, if I had not disappointed them by coming privately to town before they heard of my landing, have met me with 500 horse. Excuse my vanity in writing this to you who know what has provoked me to it. My love to good Mrs. Strahan, and your children, particularly my little wife. I shall write more fully per next opportunity, having now only time to add that I am, with unchangeable affection, my dear friend, Yours sincerely,

B. FRANKLIN.

Mrs. Franklin and Sally desire their compliments and thanks to you all for your kindness to me while in England.

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## CCXXIII.

### TO MR. WHITEFORD.

PHILADELPHIA, 7 December, 1762.

DEAR SIR :—I thank you for your kind congratulations on my son's promotion and marriage.[1] If he

[1] Very shortly after Franklin's leaving England, his son William married and was appointed governor of New Jersey. This, his only surviving son,

makes a good governor and husband (as I hope he will, for I know he has good principles and a good disposition), these events will both of them give me continual pleasure.

The taking of the Havana, on which I congratulate you, is a conquest of the greatest importance, and will doubtless contribute a due share of weight in procuring us reasonable terms of peace. It has been, however, the dearest conquest, by far, that we have made this war, when we consider the terrible havoc made by sickness in that brave army of veterans, now almost totally ruined. I thank you for the humorous and sensible print you sent me, which afforded me and several of my friends great pleasure.

was born in Pennsylvania, in 1731. His father had married Miss Read on the 1st of September, in the year 1730. William may therefore be said to have been born in wedlock, though he was not reputed to be the son of Mrs. Franklin. He did not find a home in his father's house until he was about a year old, from which time he was treated both by the doctor and Mrs. Franklin with all the tenderness and consideration to be expected from the most devoted of parents.

He was educated with care. He was at an early age appointed clerk of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania and postmaster of Philadelphia. In the French war he attained the rank of captain and served with credit at Ticonderoga. He accompanied his father to England in 1756, where he studied law, and in due time was called to the bar. Not long after this, the University of Oxford accentuated the compliment which it paid to the father in conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, by conferring the degree of Master of Arts upon his son. On the 9th of September, 1762, his commission as "Governor of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey in America" was issued. He got on very well with his people until the news of the battle of Lexington reached them, and which greatly inflamed them. Lord Sterling, one of the members of the governor's council, immediately accepted a military commission under the Provincial Congress. The governor suspended him. From this moment all harmony between the governor and the council was at an end. The Assembly, which had been prorogued on the 24th of May preceding, was called upon by proclamation to convene again June 20th. This was regarded as a contempt of the Continental Congress, and the governor was thereupon declared by the Assembly an enemy of his country, deprived of his salary, arrested, and finally sent to Connecticut a prisoner of war. He was detained a prisoner there two years and five months. He was then released and repairing to New York, became President of the Board of Associated Royalists.

After a sojourn of about four years in New York, he sailed for England

The piece from your own pencil is acknowledged to bear a strong and striking likeness, but it is otherwise such a picture of your friend as Dr. S—— would have drawn, *black, and all black.* I think you will hardly understand this remark, but your neighbour Mrs. Stevenson can explain it. Painting has scarce made her appearance among us; but her sister art, poetry, has some votaries. I send you a few blossoms of American verse, the lispings of our young Muses, which I hope your motherly critics will treat with some indulgence.

I shall never touch the sweet strings of the British lyre, without remembering my British friends, and particularly the kind giver of the instrument, who has my best wishes of happiness for himself and for his wife

in August, 1782. The personal estate which he was obliged to sacrifice to his loyalty, amounting to £1,800, was restored to him by the English government, and an annual allowance of £300 was made to him, in addition to a pension of £500, or half his salary and perquisites, which had been previously granted to him. He died Nov. 17, 1813, at the age of 82 years.

His marriage, referred to in the letter to Mr. Whiteford, was with a West Indian lady whose maiden name was Elizabeth Downs. She is described as amiable and accomplished. She died on the 28th of July, 1778, in the 49th year of her age.

The fact that William Franklin received an appointment of so much dignity as that of governor of the province of New Jersey, at a time when the relations of the colonies and the mother country were already darkened by the shadows of coming dissensions, was regarded with some suspicion by some of the people of Pennsylvania. The appointment was no doubt intended to detach the doctor from the popular party. "I am told," said Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries, writing to Governor Hamilton, "you will find Mr. Franklin more tractable, and I believe we shall, in matters of prerogative; as his son must obey instructions, and what he is ordered to do his father cannot well oppose in Pennsylvania."

The artifice had its perfect work upon the son, who, to the infinite chagrin of the father, from that time forth became the servile instrument of the ministry, and in due course of time, as already stated, a pensioned refugee in London.

The ministers, however, were not long in discovering that their blandishments had been wasted upon the doctor, whose zeal and vigilance in maintaining the rights of the colonies increased with every new provocation.

Between the doctor and his son there was no intercourse from the beginning to the end of the war. A partial reconciliation, however, took place in 1784, and just before the former returned from Europe for the last time. —EDITOR.

and his children, when it pleases God to send him any. I am, dear Sir, with the sincerest esteem, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXIV.

TO MR. PETER FRANKLIN, AT NEWPORT.

. . . You may acquaint the gentlemen that desired you to inquire my opinion of the best method of securing a powder magazine from lightning, that I think they cannot do better than to erect a mast not far from it, which may reach fifteen or twenty feet above the top of it, with a thick iron rod in one piece fastened to it, pointed at the highest end, and reaching down through the earth till it comes to water. Iron is a cheap metal; but, if it were dearer, as this is a public thing, the expense is insignificant; therefore I would have the rod at least an inch thick, to allow for its gradually wasting by rust; it will last as long as the mast, and may be renewed with it. The sharp point for five or six inches should be gilt.

But there is another circumstance of importance to the strength, goodness, and usefulness of the powder, which does not seem to have been enough attended to: I mean the keeping it perfectly dry. For want of a method of doing this, much is spoiled in damp magazines, and much so damaged as to become of little value. If, instead of barrels, it were kept in cases of bottles well corked; or in large tin canisters, with small covers shutting close by means of oiled paper between, or covering the joining on the canister; or, if in barrels, then the barrels lined with thin sheet-

lead; no moisture in either of these methods could possibly enter the powder, since glass and metals are both impervious to water.

By the latter of these means you see tea is brought dry and crisp from China to Europe, and thence to America, though it comes all the way by sea in the damp hold of a ship. And by this method, grain, meal, &c., if well dried before it is put up, may be kept for ages sound and good.

There is another thing very proper to line small barrels with; it is what they call tinfoil, or leaf-tin, being tin milled between rollers till it becomes as thin as paper, and more pliant, at the same time that its texture is extremely close. It may be applied to the wood with common paste, made with boiling water thickened with flour; and, so laid on, will lie very close and stick well; but I should prefer a hard, sticky varnish for that purpose, made of linseed oil much boiled. The heads might be lined separately, the tin wrapping a little round their edges. The barrel, while the lining is laid on, should have the end hoops slack, so that the staves standing at a little distance from each other may admit the head into its groove. The tinfoil should be plied into the groove. Then, one head being put in, and that end hooped tight, the barrel would be fit to receive the powder, and when the other head is put in and the hoops drove up, the powder would be safe from moisture, even if the barrel were kept under water. This tinfoil is but about eighteen pence sterling a pound, and is so extremely thin that, I imagine, a pound of it would line three or four powder barrels. I am, &c., B. FRANKLIN.

# CCXXV.

## B. FRANKLIN'S SERVICES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

1751.

Aug. 13. Takes his seat in Assembly. Put on a Committee to prepare a Bill, same day.

Aug. 15. Sent up with a Message to Gov$^{n}$ J$^{s}$ H$^{n}$.

Aug. 17. On a Comm$^{ee}$ to prepare an answer to Gov$^{n}$ Messages.

Aug. 20. Reports on the subject of a Bridge over Skuylkill.

Aug. 22. Reports on the subject of Indian Expenses.

Seven Resolutions N. C. D., of his Drawing, upon that Report.

Appointed on a Committee to draw an address to the Bonrick [mutilated] ing in pursuance of those Resolves.

Aug. 23. Reported the same.

Aug. 24. It was approved—but not put on the Minutes.

Oct. 14. Return'd a Member for Philada.

Sent on a Message to the Gov.

Oct. 15. On the Committee of Accts., and Comm$^{ee}$ of Grievances, and Comm$^{ee}$ to revise the Minutes.

Oct. 16. On Committee of Correspondence.

1752.

Feb. 3. On a Message to the Governor.

Feb. 7. On Comm$^{ee}$ to inspect Accts.

Feb. 8. On D$^{o}$ to consider a Petition of Bakers.

Feb. 17. On D$^{o}$ for examining the laws relating to fees.

Feb. 24. On D$^{o}$ for a Bill relating to Dogs.

March 6. On D$^{o}$ to answer a Message.

March 11. On D$^{o}$ to see the Great Seal affixed to laws.

On D$^{o}$ to inquire into the State of our Paper Currency, Trade, Numbers of People, &c.

Aug. 13. On a Message to the Gov$^{r}$ with the Bill of Fees.

Aug. 20. On a Committee for Conference with the Gov$^{r}$ on that Bill.

Makes report in writing on the State of Currency, &c.

Aug. 21. Ordered to meet some of the Council, &c.

Aug. 22. On a Message to Governor.

Oct. 14. Return'd a Member for Philada.
Sent on a Message to the Gov$^{r}$.

Oct. 17. Appointed on 4 Committees, viz., Grievances, Revisal of Minutes [and?] Accounts, Correspondence, Laws, [mutilated] [?wi]th the Speaker to procure Books and Maps.
. . . Committee to bring in a Bill . . . the Gov$^{r}$ on the Navy Bill . . . Committee [pre]pare a Message . . . of the Com$^{ee}$ of Grievances.

1753.

May 30. On a Committee to consider the Representation to the Proprietaries of 1751. And the answer thereto.
On D° to prepare an Answer to Gov$^{r}$ Message.

Sept. 1. On a Committee to consider Gov$^{r}$ propos'd Amend$^{mts}$ to a Money Bill.

Sept. 4. On a Committee to Answer the Governrs. Message.

Sept. 7. On D° to report on a Message from the Gov$^{r}$.

175 [mutilated]

Sept. 15. Return'd again for Philada.
Sent on a Message to the Gov$^{r}$.

Sept. 16. Appointed on 4 Committees, viz., Correspondence, Grievances, Accts., Revisal of Minutes.

Sept. 17. On two more Committees, viz., To inspect the laws; and the State of Trade, Currency, &c.

1754.

Feb. 5. Reports thereupon—

Feb. 14. Translates a French Letter to Gov$^{r}$ Dinwiddie.

Feb. 15. Reports on the Laws.

Feb. 26. On a Committee for Indian Trade.

March 5. On D° for considering a Petition for laying out Townships.

On D° for bringing in a Bill respecting the holding of Courts.

March 6. On D° to consider the Western Bounds.

March 7. Reports on D°.

April 5. On a Committee to bring in a Money Bill.

April 8. Gov^r appoints him a Commissioner for the Albany Treaty.

April 12. Approved by the Assembly.

April 13. On a Committee to inquire into the facts of a Petition.

April 15. On D° to answer a Message from the Gov^r.

April 18. A number of Resolves drawn up by him and agreed to.

Aug. 9. On a Committee to bring in a Money Bill.

1754.

Oct. 14. Return'd for Philada.

Oct. 15. Appointed on Committees of Grievances, and Revisal of Minutes, and Correspondence.

Dec. 31. Representation to the Proprietaries, draw [mutilated] . . . Aug^t 3 . . . put on the Votes . . . 5. [mutilated]

March 17. Takes his seat in . . . house.

March 18. On a Committee to answer . . . and d . . . the Answers.

1755.

March 20. On a Comm^ee to answer an . . . Message.

Lays before the house . . . rec'd from the Gov^r

March 22. On a Comm^ee to bring in a bill relating to provisions exported.

Requested to consider of establishing a Post for General Braddock.

April 1. Memorial from Josiah Quincy drawn by him.

April 2. Sundry orders of his proposing and drawing to supply N. England with provisions, &c.

April 9. Gives his proposal to the House about the post which was agreed to.

May 12. Receives the thanks of the House for his great Services in his late journey to the back country, etc.

May 14. On a Committee to prepare a slate of the Bills.
On D° to prepare a Message to the Gov^r.

May 16. On D° to answer another Message and he draws the answer.

June 13. Communicates to the House the letters of thanks he had received from Gen. Sir Peter Halkes and Col. Dunbar.

June 14. On a Comm^ee to answer a Message of the Gov^r.

June 17. On D° to prepare a Bill.

June 17. On D° to prepare another Bill.

June 24. On D° to answer a Message.

July 28. On D° to D°.

July 29. On D° to prepare a Bill for granting 50,000 £ to the King's use.
Sent with it to the Gov^r.

Aug. 5. On D° to answer his Message of Amendments.

Aug. 6. On D° to answer a Message and draws it—a long one.
On D° for a Bill to provide Quarters for the King's Troops.

Aug. 13. On D° to answer a long Message.

Aug. 21. On D° to answer a Message.

Aug. 22. To dispose of money for the defense of the frontiers.

Sept. 15. On D° to prepare a Bill for regulating Inspectors.

Sept. 19. Requested by the House to endeavour to prevail with Col. Dunbar to discharge servants and apprentices.
On a Committee to answer a Message.
Produces to the House a letter to himself from T.

Hutchison,[1] which induces the grant of 10,000 £ to Massachusetts.

Sept. 17. Returned for Philada.
Sent with verbal Message to Gov^r.
On 4 Committees: Correspondence, Grievances, Minutes, Laws.
On D° to bring in a Money Bill 60,000 £.
On D° to prepare Bill for supplying our Indians.
On D° to answer a Message.

Nov. 10. On a Co. [mutilated] answer a Message.

Nov. 13. On D° [mutilated] . . . sides two applications to the House from Quakers, and from the Mayor of Philad^a, &c.

Nov. 17. On D° to answer a Message.

Nov. 19. B . . . Leave . . . brings in a Militia Bill.
On a Committee to answer a Message.

Nov. 20. On a Committee to amend the Militia Bill.

Nov. 22. On D° to consider Gov^rs message.

Nov. 25. On D° to bring in a Money Bill exempting the Propriey. Estate in consideration of their gift of 5,000 £.

Nov. 29. On D° to answer a Message.

Dec. 3. On D° to answer a Message.

1756.

Feb. I still on the Frontiers building forts.

Feb. 7. On Comm^ee to prepare an Address to Gov^r respecting the enlistment of Servants and draws it.

Feb. 19. Lays before the house letters to him from Gen. Shirley.
On a Comm^ee to answer a Message.

March 3. Brings in a Bill by leave of the House to Regulate soldiers, &c.

[1] Governor of the province of Massachusetts and author of the letters which, some eight years later, were destined to work his ruin.—ED.

March 5. Watch and Lamp Bill brought in.
March 10. On Committee to amend soldiers' Bill.
March 13. Moves the House again on this Bill.
On Comm^ee^ for that purpose.
March 17. Sent with the Bill to the Gov^r^.
Goes to Virginia.
May 12. On Comm^ee^ to answer a Message.
June 2. On D° to D°.
July 22. Then at N. York, charg'd with an address to Gen^l^ Shirley, going to England.
Aug. 17. On Comm^ee^ to bring in a Bill granting 40,000 £.
Aug. 20. W. M. Denny, Gov^r^.
Aug. 21. On Comm^ee^ to prepare address to the Governor.
Aug. 30. On D° to prepare Answers to Govrs. Speech and Message.
Sept. 1. On a Message to the Governor.
Sept. 3. Draws a long Paper of Remarks on Prop^y^. Instructions.
Sept. 8. Appointed a Commissioner in the Act . . . 60,000 £.
Sept. 13. On a Comm^ee^ to prepare reasons in answer . . . to the Bill.
Sept. 16. Draws resolutions relating . . .
On Comm^ee^ to prepare a new B . . . D° to D° . . . up with the 30,000 £ Bi . . .
Oct. 14. Return'd for Philada.
Oct. 18. Order on 3 Committees: Correspondence Grievances, Minutes.
Oct. 21. On D° for preparing a Bill to regulate the hire of carriages.
Oct. 22. On D° for D° ——— Billeting of soldiers.
Oct. 26. On D° to confer with Gov^r^ about Indians.
Oct. 27. With leave brings in a Bill to regulate forces of this Province.
Oct. 28. As President of the Hospital lays before the House the Accts. thereof.

On a Committee to prepare another Militia Bill.
Oct. 29. On D° to answer Gov^r Message.
Nov. 5. On D° to compare Bills.
On D° to accompany the Governor to treat with Indians [at] Easton.
Nov. 23. On D° to prepare a Message to the Gov^r.
Dec. 2. On D° to examine Journals of House of Commons concerning Elections.
Dec. 3. Reports on the same.
Dec. 8. On a Comm^ee to prepare answer to Gov^r's Message.
Dec. 16. On D° to D° Message concerning Quarters.
Dec. 18. On D° to D°.
Dec. 19. On D° to confer with the Gov^r.
Dec. 22. On D° to answer a Message abt Quarters.
Dec. 24. On D° to prepare a Bill for granting 100,000 £ by Tax.
Jan. 11. On D° to prepare a Bill to relieve Inn-keepers.
Jan. 24. On D° to prepare a Bill to strike a sum of Pap. money.
Jan. 28. On D° to wait on the Gov^r with a Message
Jan. 29. Reports concerning the Treaty at Easton.
Is nominated to go to England.
Feb. 1. On a Committee to prepare a new Bill for granting 100,000 £.
Feb. 3. Accepts the appointment to England.
Appointed Agent.
Feb. 7. On a Comm^ee to answer a Message.
Feb. 12. On D° to D°.
March 22. Gov^r agrees to pass the Bill for 100,000 £. This was after B. F.'s Conference with him and L^d Loudon.

1759.

Feb. 21. Proprietaries' message to the Assembly representing Mr. F. as not a person of Candour, &c.
His heads of Complaint.
Answer thereto by Paris.

. . . 27. Supply . . . B . . . for 100,000 £ Taxing the P'y Estate passe . . . [mutilated]
. . . by Gov . . . eny
. . . Return' . . . Philada . . .

1760.

Oct. 14. Retd for Philada.
Oct. 15. Continu'd Agent with R. ——— Charles.
Oct. 18. Governor Hamilton refuses to certify the Assembly's appointment of Franklin and Charles as Agents, &c.
The Assembly order a Certificate from a Notary and appoint a Committee to consider the Gov^r's refusal, &c. And order the Grant of the Crown to be ——— receiv'd by B. F. and lodg'd in the Bank in several names.

1761.

Sept. 19. Bills ordered to be drawn on B. F. for the amount of the Parliamentary Grant.

1762.

May 6. Several letters of different dates received from him.
Sept. 21. D° . . . informing that he had taken his passage, and left the affairs of the Province with Mr. Jackson.
Oct. 15. Return'd again, as in all the preceding years, a member from Philada.

1763.

Jan. 10. In the House again, and on a Committee.
Jan. 12. On another.
Jan. 14. On another and another.
Jan. 18. Engagement of B. F. and R. C. recited.
Jan. 21. On a Committee to prepare a Bill.
Jan. 28. On D° for another Bill and another.
Feb. 8. On a Committee for another Bill.
Feb. 19. Report on his Accounts and thanks order'd.

March 4. Balance of his Acct. order'd to be paid—
£2214 10 0.
March 29. On a Committee for a Bill.
March 31. Thanks given him by the Speaker in . . . form,
and answer . . .
Apr . [Mutilated] On a Comm. . . . &c. to ansr. . . .
propose . . . Bill.

## CCXXVI.

TO MRS. GREENE.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, 23 January, 1763.

I received with great pleasure my dear friend's favor of December 20th, as it informed me that you and yours are all well. Mrs. Franklin admits of your apology for dropping the correspondence with her, and allows your reasons to be good; but hopes, when you have more leisure, it may be resumed. She joins with me in congratulating you upon your present happy situation. I thank you for your kind invitation. I purpose a journey into New England in the spring or summer coming. I shall not fail to pay my respects to you and Mr. Greene, when I come your way. Please to make my compliments acceptable to him. I have had a most agreeable time of it in Europe. I have in company with my son been in most parts of England, Scotland, Flanders and Holland; and generally have enjoyed a good share of health. If you had asked the rest of your questions, I could have more easily made this letter longer. Let me

[1] Formerly Miss Catharine Ray, at the date married to Mr. Wm. Greene, who was afterwards Governor of Rhode Island.

have them in your next. I think I am not much altered; at least my esteem and regard for my Katy (if I may still be permitted to call her so) is the same, and I believe will be unalterable, whilst I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—My best respects to your good brother and sister Ward. My daughter presents her compliments. My son is not yet arrived.

## CCXXVII.

TO ———

PHILADELPHIA, 9 February, 1763.

SIR:—It is now six years, since, in obedience to the order of the House, I undertook a voyage to England, to take care of their affairs there.

Fifteen hundred pounds of the publick money was at different times put into my hands, for which I ought to account, and I was instructed to keep accounts of the disbursements I sh (*torn out*) make in the publick service.

But I soon found such accounts were in many instances impracticable. For example, I took my son with me, partly to assist me as a clerk and otherways in the publick service, and partly to improve him by showing him the world. His services were considerable, but so intermixed with private services, as that I could not well attend to (*sic*). I made journies, partly for the health, and partly that I might, by country visits to persons of influence, have more convenient opportunities of dis-

coursing them on our publick affairs, the expense of which journeys was not easily proportion'd and separated. And being myself honour'd with visits from persons of quality and distinction, I was obliged for the credit of the province to live in a fashion and expense, suitable to the publick character I sustain'd, and much above what I should have done if I had been consider'd merely as a private person: and this difference of expense was not easy to distinguish, and charge in my accounts. The long sickness and frequent relapses I had the first and part of the second winter, occasioned by a change of climate, were many ways expensive to me, of which I could keep no acct. if indeed I ought to have charg'd the province with such expenses. The disbursement of the following sums I have however accounts and receipts to avouch, viz. [*The rest wanting.*]

## CCXXVIII.

TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

PHILADELPHIA, 23 February, 1763.

DEAR STRANEY:—I have only time to write one line by this conveyance, just to congratulate you on the glorious peace you have made, the most advantageous for the British nation, in my opinion, of any your annals have recorded. The places you have left or restor'd to the French, I look upon to be so much in our power in case of a future war, as to be so many hostages or pledges of their good behaviour.

Love to Mrs. Strahan and your children. Billy joins in every affectionate sentiment, with, dear friend, Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXIX.

### CONGELATION OF QUICKSILVER—COLD PRODUCED BY EVAPORATION.[1]

PERTH AMBOY, 26 February, 1763.

The most remarkable discovery that has been made within these three years is, that quicksilver is in reality a melted metal, with this character only, that of all others it requires the least heat to melt it. The Academy of Sciences at Petersburg have found that by dipping a mercurial thermometer into repeated cooling mixtures, and so taking from the mercury the heat that was in it, they have brought it down some hundred degrees (the exact number I cannot remember) below the freezing point, when the mercury became solid and would sink no longer, and then the glass being broke it came out in the form of a silver bullet adhering to a wire, which was the slender part that had been in the tube. Upon trial it was found malleable, and was hammered out to the bigness of a half-crown, but soon after, on receiving a small degree of warmth, it returned gradually to its fluid state again. This experiment was repeated by several members of that Academy two winters successively,

[1] This is a fragment of a letter in the handwriting of Franklin, but it is not known to whom it was written.

and an authentic account of it transmitted to our Royal Society.

I suppose you have seen in the second volume of the new Philosophical Essays of the Edinburgh Society an account of some experiments to produce cold by evaporation, made by Dr. Cullen, who mentions the like having been before made at Petersburg. I think it is but lately that our European philosophers have known or acknowledged any thing of such a power in nature. But I find it has been long known in the east. Bernier, in the account of his travels in India, written above a hundred years since, mentions the custom of travellers carrying their water in flasks covered with wet wrappers, and hung to the pommels of their saddles, so as that the wind might act upon them, and so cool the water. I have also seen a kind of jar for cooling water, made of potter's earth glazed, and so porous that the water gradually oozed through to the surface, supplying water just sufficient for a constant evaporation. I tried it, and found the water within much cooler in a few hours. This jar was brought from Egypt.

## CCXXX.

### TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

PHILADELPHIA, 25 March, 1763.

MY DEAR POLLY :—Your pleasing favor of November 11th is now before me. It found me, as you supposed it would, happy with my American friends and family about me; and it made me more happy

in showing me, that I am not yet forgotten by the dear friends I left in England. And, indeed, why should I fear they will ever forget me, when I feel so strongly that I shall ever remember them?

I sympathize with you sincerely in your grief at the separation from your old friend, Miss Pitt. The reflection that she is going to be more happy, when she leaves you, might comfort you, if the case were likely to be so circumstanced; but, when the country and company she has been educated in, and those she is removing to, are compared, one cannot possibly expect it. I sympathize no less with you in your joys. But it is not merely on your account that I rejoice at the recovery of your dear Dolly's[1] health. I love that dear good girl myself, and I love her other friends. I am, therefore, made happy by what must contribute so much to the happiness of them all. Remember me to her, and to every one of that worthy and amiable family, most affectionately.

Remember me in the same manner to your and my good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth. You have lately, you tell me, had the pleasure of spending three days with them at Mrs. Stanley's. It was a sweet society. I, too, once partook of that same pleasure, and can therefore feel what you must have felt. Remember me also to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley, and to Miss Arlond.

Of all the enviable things England has, I envy it most its people. Why should that petty Island, which, compared to America, is but a stepping-stone

[1] Miss Dorothea Blount.

in a brook, scarce enough of it above water to keep one's shoes dry; why, I say, should that little Island enjoy, in almost every neighbourhood, more sensible, virtuous, and elegant minds, than we can collect in ranging a hundred leagues of our vast forests? But it is said the Arts delight to travel westward. You have effectually defended us in this glorious war, and in time you will improve us. After the first cares for the necessaries of life are over, we shall come to think of the embellishments. Already, some of our young geniuses begin to lisp attempts at painting, poetry, and music. We have a young painter now studying at Rome. Some specimens of our poetry I send you, which, if Dr. Hawkesworth's fine taste cannot approve, his good heart will at least excuse. The manuscript piece is by a young friend of mine, and was occasioned by the loss of one of his friends, who lately made a voyage to Antigua to settle some affairs, previous to an intended marriage with an amiable young lady here, but unfortunately died there. I send it to you, because the author is a great admirer of Mr. Stanley's musical compositions, and has adapted this piece to an air in the sixth *Concerto* of that gentleman, the sweetly solemn movement of which he is quite in raptures with. He has attempted to compose a *recitativo* for it, but, not being able to satisfy himself in the bass, wishes I could get it supplied. If Mr. Stanley would condescend to do that for him, he would esteem it as one of the highest honours, and it would make him excessively happy. You will say that a *recitativo* can be but a poor speci-

men of our music. It is the best and all I have at present, but you may see better hereafter.

I hope Mr. Ralph's affairs are mended since you wrote. I know he had some expectations, when I came away, from a hand that would help him. He has merit, and one would think ought not to be so unfortunate.

I do not wonder at the behaviour you mention of Dr. S—— towards me, for I have long since known him thoroughly. I made that man my enemy by doing him too much kindness. It is the honestest way of acquiring an enemy. And, since it is convenient to have at least one enemy, who, by his readiness to revile one on all occasions, may make one careful of one's conduct, I shall keep him an enemy for that purpose; and shall observe your good mother's advice, never again to receive him as a friend. She once admired the benevolent spirit breathed in his sermons. She will now see the justness of the lines your laureate Whitehead addressed to his poets, and which I now address to her:

> "Full many a peevish, envious, slanderous elf
> Is, in his works, benevolence itself.
> For all mankind, unknown, his bosom heaves;
> He only injures those with whom he lives.
> Read, then, the man;—does *truth* his actions guide,
> Exempt from *petulance*, exempt from *pride?*
> To social duties does his heart attend,
> As son, as father, husband, brother, *friend?*
> *Do those, who know him, love him?* If they do,
> You 've *my* permission, you may love him too."

Nothing can please me more, than to see your philo-

sophical improvements, when you have leisure to communicate them to me; I still owe you a long letter on that subject, which I shall pay. I am vexed with Mr. James, that he has been so dilatory in Mr. Madison's *Armonica.* I was unlucky in both the workmen that I permitted to undertake making those instruments. The first was fanciful, and never could work to the purpose, because he was ever conceiving some new improvement, that answered no end. The other I doubt is absolutely idle. I have recommended a number to him from hence, but must stop my hand.

Adieu, my dear Polly, and believe me, as ever, with the sincerest esteem and regard, your truly affectionate friend and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—My love to Mrs. Tickell and Mrs. Rooke, and to Pitty, when you write to her. Mrs. Franklin and Sally desire to be affectionately remembered to you. I find the printed poetry I intended to enclose will be too bulky to send. I shall send it by a ship that goes shortly from hence.

## CCXXXI.

### TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, 13 April, 1763.

LOVING KINSMAN :—You may remember that about ten years since, when I was at Boston, you and my

[1]Jonathan Williams married Grace Harris, a niece of Dr. Franklin's, and was the father of Jonathan Williams, who acted as a commercial agent for the United States in France during a large part of the Revolution, and whose name often occurs in the course of this correspondence. The son, after filling important stations as a colonel of engineers and superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, died May 20, 1815.

brother sent directions here to attach on Grant's right to some land here by virtue of a mortgage given him by one Pitt. Nothing effectual could be done in it at that time, their being a prior mortgage undischarged. That prior mortgage is now near expiring, and Grant's will take place. Pitt's widow is desirous of being enabled to sell the place, which cannot be done without paying off Grant's mortgage. Therefore, if your old demand against Grant still subsists, you may empower me in any manner you think proper to recover it.

Is Grant living? Or, if dead, are there any of his representatives among you? Inquire. Because here is a person desirous of purchasing, who perhaps may inquire them out and get a discharge from them before your claim is brought forward, unless the attachment formerly made in your behalf is still good, which I am inclined to think may be.

I am going in a few days to Virginia, but expect to be back in three or four weeks. However, send what you have to say on this subject to my son, at Burlington, who was formerly empowered by you, and he will take the steps necessary, if I should not be returned. I am your loving uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXXII.

TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

PHILADELPHIA, June 2, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND:—I have just received your favour of February 28th, being but lately returned home from

Virginia. Dr. Kelley, in his letter, appears the same sensible, worthy, friendly man I ever found him, and Smith, as usual, just the reverse. I have done with him; for I believe nobody here will prevail with me to give him another meeting. I communicated your postscript to B. Mecom, and received the enclosed from him. I begin to fear things are going wrong with him. I shall be at New York in a few days, and will endeavour to secure you as far as it may be in his power, and will write you from thence. My love to good Mrs. Strahan and to your children. I hope to live to see George a bishop. Sally is now with her brother in the Jerseys. Mrs. Franklin joins with me in best wishes, &c. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most hum. servt.,

B. FRANKLIN.

I fear my letter to you per Captain Friend never came to hand, as I hear he is taken. It was the ship I came over in, the Carolina. I wrote pretty fully to you and Mr. Stephenson, but kept no copies.

## CCXXXIII.

### TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

WOODBRIDGE, NEW JERSEY, 10 June, 1763.

I wrote to my dear friend's good mamma to-day, and said I should hardly have time to write to you; but finding a spare half hour I will indulge myself in the pleasure of spending it with you. I have just received your most agreeable epistle of March 11th. The ease, the smoothness, the purity of diction, and

delicacy of sentiment that always appear in your letters never fail to delight me; but the tender filial regard you constantly express for your old friend is particularly engaging. Continue, then, to make him happy from time to time with that sweet intercourse, and take in return all he can give you, his sincerest wishes for you of every kind of felicity.

I hope that by the time this reaches you an account will arrive of your dear Pitty's safe landing in America among her friends. Your Dolly, too, I hope, has perfectly recovered her health, and then nothing will remain to give you uneasiness or anxiety. Heaven bless you, and believe me ever, my dear child, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXXIV.

### TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

WOODBRIDGE, NEW JERSEY, 10 June, 1763.

DEAR STRANEY:—I am here in my way to New England, where I expect to be till towards the end of summer. I have writ to you lately, and have nothing to add. 'T is against my conscience to put you to the charge of a shilling for a letter that has nothing in it to any purpose; but as I have wrote to some of your acquaintance by this opportunity, I was afraid you would not forgive me if I did not write also to you. This is what people get by not being always as good-natured as they should be. I am glad, however that you have this fault; for a man without

faults is a hateful creature. He puts all his friends out of countenance; but I love you exceedingly. I am glad to hear that Friend was dismissed and got safe with his ship to England, for I think I wrote you a long letter by him, and fear'd it was lost, ; tho' I have forgot what was in it, and perhaps it was not very material; but now you have it. Tell me whether George is to be a Church or Presbyterian parson. I know you are a Presbyterian yourself; but then I think you have more sense than to stick him into a priesthood that admits of no promotion. If he was a dull lad it might not be amiss, but George has parts, and ought to aim at a mitre. God bless you, and farewell. If I write much more I must use a cover, which will double the postage. So I prudently cut short (thank me for it) with, Dear Straney,

Your affectionate friend and hum. servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXXV

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

NEW YORK, 16 June, 1763.

MY DEAR CHILD:—We left Woodbridge on Tuesday morning and went to Elizabethtown, where I found our children returned from the Falls, and very well. The Corporation were to have a dinner that day at the Point for their entertainment, and prevailed on us to stay. There were all the princi-

pal people, and a great many ladies. After dinner we set out, and got here before dark. We waited on the governor and on General Amherst yesterday, dined with Lord Stirling, went in the evening to my old friend Mr. Kennedy's funeral, and are to dine with the general to-day. Mr. Hughes and daughter are well, and Betsy Holt. I have not yet seen B. Mecom, but shall to-day. I am very well.

I purpose to take Sally, at all events, and write for her to-day to be ready to go in the packet that sails next Friday week. If there is no other suitable company, Mr. Parker will go with her and take care of her. I am glad you sent some wax candles with the things to Boston. I am now so used to them that I cannot do well without them. You spent your Sunday very well, but I think you should go oftener to church. I approve of your opening all my English letters, as it must give you pleasure to see that people who knew me there so long and so intimately retain so sincere a regard for me.

My love to Mr. Rhoads when you see him, and desire he would send me an invoice of such locks, hinges, and the like, as cannot be had at Philadelphia, and will be necessary for my house, that I may send for them. Let me know from time to time how it goes on. Mr. Foxcroft and Mr. Parker join in compliments to you and cousin Lizzy. Mr. F—— prays his mamma to forgive him, and he will be a better boy. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXXVI.

TO WILLIAM GREENE, WARWIC, RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE, 19 July, 1763.

DEAR SIR:—From the very hospitable and kind treatment we met with at your house, I must think it will be agreeable to you to hear, that your guests got well in before the rain. We hope that you and Mrs. Greene were likewise safe at home before night, and found all well. We all join in the most cordial thanks and best wishes, and shall be glad on every occasion to hear of the welfare of you and yours. I beg you will present our compliments to your good neighbour, Captain Fry, and tell him we shall always retain a grateful remembrance of his civilities.

The soreness in my breast seems to diminish hourly. To rest and temperance I ascribe it chiefly, though the bleeding had doubtless some share in the effect. We purpose setting out to go to Wrentham this afternoon, in order to make an easy day's journey into Boston to-morrow. Present our respects to Mrs. Ray, and believe me, with much esteem, dear Sir, your obliged and most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXXVII.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

BOSTON, 1 August, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND:—I ought to acquaint you that I feel myself growing daily firmer and freer from the effects of my fall, and hope a few days more will make

me quite forget it. I shall, however, never forget the kindness I met with at your house on that occasion.

Make my compliments acceptable to your Mr. Greene, and let him know that I acknowledge the receipt of his obliging letter, and thank him for it. It gave me great pleasure to hear you got home before the rain. My compliments, too, to Mr. Merchant and Miss Ward, if they are still with you; and kiss the ladies for me. Sally says, "And for me too." She adds her best respects to Mr. Greene and you, and that she could have spent a week with you with great pleasure, if I had not hurried her away.

My brother is returned to Rhode Island. Sister Mecom thanks you for your kind remembrance of her, and presents her respects. With perfect esteem and regard I am, dear Katy (I can't yet alter my style to "Madam"), your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXXXVIII.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

BOSTON, 5 September, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND:—On my returning hither from Portsmouth, I find your obliging favor of the 18th past, for which I thank you. I am almost ashamed to tell you, that I have had another fall, and put my shoulder out. It is well reduced again, but is still affected with constant, though not very acute pain. I am not yet able to travel rough roads, and must lie

by awhile, as I can neither hold reins nor whip with my right hand till it grows stronger.

Do you think, after this, that even your kindest invitations and Mr. Greene's can prevail with me to venture myself again on such roads? And yet it would be a great pleasure to me to see you and yours once more. Sally and my sister Mecom thank you for their remembrance of them, and present their affectionate regards. My best respects to good Mr. Greene, Mrs. Ray, and love to your little ones. I am glad to hear they are well, and that your Celia goes alone. I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.[1]

## CCXXXIX.

TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

BOSTON, 22 September, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND:—I write in pain with an arm lately dislocated, so can only acknowledge the receipt of your favours of May 3 and 10, and thank you for the intelligence they contain concerning your publick affairs. I am now 400 miles from home, but hope to be there again in about 3 weeks. The Indian war upon our Western settlements was undoubtedly stirr'd up by the French on the Mississippi, before they had heard of the peace between the two nations; and will probably cease when we are in possession of what is there ceded to us. My respects to Mrs. Strahan, and love to your children. I am, dear friend, very affectionately yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] He returned to Philadelphia, with his daughter, from this tour to New England, on the 5th of November.

# CCXL.

## TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

PHILADELPHIA, 14 March, 1764.

DEAR POLLY:—I have received your kind letters of August 30th and November 16th. Please to return my thanks, with those of my friend, to Mr. Stanley for his favor in the music, which gives great satisfaction. I am glad to hear of the welfare of the Blount family, and the addition it has lately received, and particularly that your Dolly's health is mended. Present my best respects to them and to the good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth when you see them.

I believe you were right in dissuading your good mother from coming hither. The proposal was a hasty thought of mine, in which I considered only some profit she might make by the adventure and the pleasure to me and my family from the visit, but forgot poor Polly and what her feelings must be on the occasion, and perhaps did not sufficiently reflect that the inconveniences of such a voyage to a person of her years and sex must be more than the advantages could compensate.

I am sincerely concerned to hear of Mrs. Rooke's long-continued affliction with that cruel gout. My best wishes attend her and good Mrs. Tickell. Let me hear from you as often as you can afford it. You can scarce conceive the pleasure your letters give me. Blessings on his soul that first invented writing, without which I should at this distance be as effectually

cut off from my friends in England as the dead are from the living. But I write so little that I can have no claim to much from you. Business, publick and private, devours all my time. I must return to England for repose. With such thoughts I flatter myself, and need some kind friend to put me often in mind that old trees cannot safely be transplanted.

Adieu, my amiable friend, and believe me ever yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXLI.

TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

PHILADELPHIA, 30 March, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND:—I begin to think it long since I had the pleasure of hearing from you.

Enclosed is one of our last Gazettes, in which you will see that our dissensions are broke out again, more violently than ever. Such a necklace of Resolves! and all *nemine contradicente*, I believe you have seldom seen. If you can find room for them and our messages in the *Chronicle* (but perhaps 'tis too much to ask), I should be glad to have them there; as it may prepare the minds of those in power for an application that I believe will shortly be made from this Province to the crown, to take the government into its own hands. They talk of sending me over with it, but it will be too soon for me. At least I think so at present. Adieu, my dear Friend, and believe me ever Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—My love to my young Wife, and to Mrs. Strahan, Rachey, Billy, &c., &c. In your next tell me how you all do, and don't oblige me to come and see before I am quite ready.

## CCXLII.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

PHILADELPHIA, 15 April, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND :—I have before me your most acceptable favor of December 24th. Publick business and our publick confusions have so taken up my attention that I suspect I did not answer it when I received it, but am really not certain ; so, to make sure, I write this line to acknowledge the receiving of it, and to thank you for it. I condole with you on the death of the good old lady, your mother. Separations of this kind from those we love are grievous; but it is the will of God that such should be the nature of things in this world. All that ever were born are either dead or must die. It becomes us to submit and to comfort ourselves with the hope of a better life and more happy meeting hereafter.

Sally kept to her horse the greatest part of the journey, and was much pleased with the tour. She often remembers, with pleasure and gratitude, the kindnesses she met with and received from our friends everywhere, and particularly at your house. She talks of writing by this post, and my dame sends her love to you, and thanks for the care you took of her old man, but, having bad spectacles, cannot write at present.

Mr. Kent's compliment is a very extraordinary one, as he was obliged to kill himself and two others in order to make it; but, being killed in imagination only, they and he are all yet alive and well, thanks to God, and I hope will continue so as long as, dear Katy, your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—My best respects to Mrs. Greene, and love to "the little dear creatures." I believe the instructions relating to the post-office have been sent to Mr. Rufus Greene.

## CCXLIII.

### TO WILLIAM STRAHAN

PHILADELPHIA, 1 May, 1764.

DEAR STRANEY:—I received your favour of December 20th. You cannot conceive the satisfaction and pleasure you give your friends here by your political letters. Your accounts are so clear, circumstantial, and complete, that tho' there is nothing too much, nothing is wanting to give us, as I imagine, a more perfect knowledge of your publick affairs than most people have that live among you. The characters of your speakers and actors are so admirably sketch'd, and their views so plainly opened, that we see and know everybody; they all become of our acquaintance. So excellent a manner of writing seems to me a superfluous gift to a mere printer. If you do not commence author for the benefit of mankind, you will certainly be found guilty hereafter of

burying your talent. It is true that it will puzzle the Devil himself to find any thing else to accuse you of, but remember he may make a great deal of that. If I were king (which may God in mercy to us all prevent) I should certainly make you the historiographer of my reign. There could be but one objection—I suspect you might be a little partial in my favour. But your other qualifications for an historian being duly considered, I believe we might get over that.

Our petty publick affairs here are in the greatest confusion, and will never, in my opinion, be composed, while the Proprietary Government subsists. I have wrote a little piece (which I send enclos'd) to persuade a change. People talk of sending me to England to negotiate it, but I grow very indolent. Bustling is for younger men.

Mrs. Franklin, Sally, and my son and daughter of the Jerseys, with whom I lately spent a week, all join in best wishes of prosperity to you and all yours, with, dear sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I will do every thing in my power to recommend the work Mr. Griffith mentions, having the same sentiments of it that you express. But I conceive many more of them come to America than he imagines. Our booksellers, perhaps, write for but few, but the reason is that a multitude of our people trade more or less to London ; and all that are bookishly dispos'd receive the reviews singly from their correspondents as they come out.

## CCXLIV.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, 24 May, 1764.

DEAR KINSMAN:—The bearer is the Rev. Mr. Rothenbuler, minister of a new Calvinist German Church lately erected in this city. The congregation is but poor at present, being many of them new comers, and (like other builders) deceived in their previous calculations, they have distressed themselves by the expense of their building; but, as they are an industrious, sober people, they will be able in time to afford that assistance to others, which they now humbly crave for themselves.

His business in Boston is to petition the generous and charitable among his Presbyterian brethren for their kind benefactions. As he will be a stranger in New England, and I know you are ready to do every good work, I take the freedom to recommend him and his business to you for your friendly advice and countenance. The civilities you show him shall be acknowledged as done to your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXLV.

TO GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

PHILADELPHIA, 19 June, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND:—I received your favors of the 21st past and of the 3d instant, and immediately sent the enclosed as directed.

Your frequently repeated wishes for my eternal as well as my temporal happiness are very obliging, and I can only thank you for them and offer you mine in return. I have myself no doubt, that I shall enjoy as much of both as is proper for me. That Being, who gave me existence, and through almost threescore years has been continually showering his favors upon me, whose very chastisements have been blessings to me; can I doubt that he loves me? And if he loves me, can I doubt that he will go on to take care of me, not only here but hereafter? This to some may seem presumption; to me it appears the best grounded hope; hope of the future built on experience of the past.

By the accounts I have of your late labors, I conclude your health is mended by your journey, which gives me pleasure. Mrs. Franklin presents her cordial respects, with, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—We hope you will not be deterred from visiting your friends here, by the bugbear Boston account of the unhealthiness of Philadelphia.

## CCXLVI.

### TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

PHILADELPHIA, 25 June, 1764.

DEAR SIR:—I wrote a few lines to you *via* Liverpool; but they were too late for the ship, and now accompany this.

I gave Mr. Parker a power of attorney to act for you and myself with respect to Mecom's affairs, who has under oath surrendered all he possessed into his hands, to be divided proportionately between us and his other creditors, which are chiefly Rivington and Fletcher and Hamilton and Balfour. The effects consist of a printing press, some tolerably good letter, and some books and stationery. He has rendered particular and exact accounts, but his all will fall vastly short of payment. I suppose it will scarce amount to four shillings in the pound. Parker thinks him honest, and has let him have a small printing house at New Haven, in Connecticut, where he is now at work; but having a wife and a number of small children, I doubt it will be long ere he gets any thing beforehand so as to lessen much of his old debt. I think it will be well for each of his creditors to take again what remains unsold of their respective goods, of which there are separate accounts, and join in impowering Mr. Parker to sell the remainder, to be divided among us. Tho' on second thoughts, perhaps the fairest way is to sell and divide the whole. You can obtain their sentiments, and send me your own. As to what Parker[1] owes you, it is very safe, and you must have interest.

I hope the bath will fully re-establish good Mrs. Strahan's health. I enjoy the pleasure with which you speak of your children. God has been very

[1] This Parker in New York and Franklin in Philadelphia, were, at the date of this letter, the only two printers of much account in the colonies. Cortland Parker, Esq., the eminent jurist of New Jersey, inherits the blood of both.

good to you, from whence I think you may be assured that he loves you, and that he will take at least as good care of your future happiness as he has done of your present. What assurance of the future can be better founded than that which is built on experience of the past? Thank me for giving you this hint, by the help of which you may die as cheerfully as you live. If you had Christian faith, *quantum suff.*, this might not be necessary; but as matters are it may be of use.

Your political letters are oracles here. I beseech you to continue them. With unfeigned esteem, I am, as ever, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXLVII.

### TO WILLIAM STRAHAN.

PHILADELPHIA, 24 September, 1764.

DEAR MR. STRAHAN:—I wrote to you of the first instant, and sent you a bill for £13, and a little list of books to be bought with it. But as Mr. Becket has since sent them to me, I hope this will come time enough to countermand that order. The money, if you have received it, may be paid to Mr. Stephenson, to whom we have wrote for sundry things.

I thank you for inserting the messages and resolutions entire. I believe it has had a good effect; for a friend writes me that it is astonishing with what success it was propagated in London by the Proprietaries; that the resolutions were the most indecent and un-

dutiful to the Crown, &c., so that when he saw them, having before heard those reports, he could not believe they were the same.

I was always unwilling to give a copy of the chapter for fear it would be printed, and by that means I should be deprived of the pleasure I often had in amusing people with it. I could not, however, refuse it to two of the best men in the world, Lord Kames and Mr. Small, and should not to the third if he had not been a printer. But you have overpaid me for the loss of that pleasure by the kind things you have so handsomely said of your friend in the introduction.

You tell me that the value I set on your political letters is a strong proof that my judgment is on the decline. People seldom have friends kind enough to tell them that disagreeable truth, however useful it might be to know it; and indeed I learn more from what you say than you intended I should; for it convinces me that you had observed the decline for some time past in other instances, as 't is very unlikely you should see it first in my good opinion of your writings; but you have kept the observation to yourself till you had an opportunity of hinting it to me kindly under the guise of modesty in regard to your own performances. I will confess to you another circumstance that must confirm your judgment of me, which is that I have of late fancy'd myself to write better than ever I did; and, farther, that when any thing of mine is abridged in the papers or magazines, I conceit that the abridger has left out the very best and brightest parts. These, my friend, are

much stronger proofs, and put me in mind of Gil Blas's patron, the homily-maker.

I rejoice to hear that Mrs. Strahan is recovering; that your family in general is well, and that my little woman in particular is so, and has not forgot our tender connection. The enlarging of your house and the coach-house and stables you mention make me think of living with you when I come; for I love ease more than ever, and by daily using your horses I can be of service to you and them by preventing their growing too fat and becoming restif.

Mrs. Franklin and Sally join in best wishes for you and all yours, with your affectionate

B. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR:—I wrote a few lines to you by this opportunity, but omitted desiring you to call on Mr. Jackson of the Temple and pay him for the copying a manuscript he sent me which he paid the stationer for doing on my account. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCXVIII.

### TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, 3 November, 1764.

LOVING KINSMAN:—The case of the Armonica came home to-night, and the spindle, with all the rest of the work, seems well done. But on further consideration I think it is not worth while to take one of them to London, to be filled with glasses, as we intended. It will be better to send you one com-

plete from thence, made under my direction, which I will take care shall be good. The glasses here will serve for these cases when I come back, if it please God that I live to return, and some friends will be glad of them.

Enclosed I send you that impostor's letter. Perhaps he may be found by his handwriting.

We sail on Wednesday. The merchants here in two hours subscribed eleven hundred pounds, to be lent the publick for the charges of my voyage, &c. I shall take with me but a part of it, five hundred pounds sterling. Any sum is to be had that I may want. My love to all. Adieu. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.[1]

## CCXLIX.

### TO SARAH FRANKLIN.

REEDY ISLAND, 7 at night, 8 November, 1764.

MY DEAR SALLY:—We got down here at sunset, having taken in more live stock at Newcastle, with some other things we wanted. Our good friends, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Wharton and Mr. James, came with me in the ship from Chester to Newcastle, and went ashore there. It was kind to favor me with

[1] Dr. Franklin was appointed to this second mission to England by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, October 26, 1764. As the Assembly had not then in the treasury any money that could be appropriated for this purpose they passed a resolve that the expense attending his voyage and the execution of the trust reposed in him should be provided for in the next bill prepared by the House for raising money to defray the public debts. On the strength of this pledge the money was loaned by the merchants, although a party had made a considerable opposition to the appointment of an agent who was known to be hostile to the Proprietaries, and had been active in promoting petitions for a change of the Pennsylvania government.

their good company as far as they could. The affectionate leave taken of me by so many friends at Chester was very endearing. God bless them and all Pennsylvania.

My dear child, the natural prudence and goodness of heart God has blessed you with makes it less necessary for me to be particular in giving you advice. I shall therefore only say that the more attentively dutiful and tender you are towards your good mamma, the more you will recommend yourself to me. But why should I mention *me* when you have a so much higher promise in the commandments that such conduct will recommend you to the favor of God. You know I have many enemies, all indeed on the publick account (for I cannot recollect that I have in a private capacity given just cause of offence to any one whatever), yet they are enemies, and very bitter ones, and you must expect their enmity will extend in some degree to you, so that your slightest indiscretions will be magnified into crimes in order the more sensibly to wound and afflict me. It is therefore the more necessary for you to be extremely circumspect in all your behaviour, that no advantage may be given to their malevolence.[1]

[1] The fury of partisanship was at its height in Pennsylvania at this time. And no one felt the effects of it more than Franklin. For an intelligent apprehension of the questions which divided the people see the Doctor's tract entitled "Cool Thoughts"; and also his "Preface to Galloway's Speech," and "Remarks on a Late Protest." John Dickenson, in the Assembly, denounced his selection as agent of the province as the most obnoxious to his country that could have been made. "The gentleman proposed," he said, "has been called 'a great luminary of the learned world.' I acknowledge his abilities. Far be it from me to detract from the merit I admire. Let him still shine; but without wrapping his country in flames."

Even the aid of the muses was invoked by the opposition. The following lines, which owe their exist-

Go constantly to church, whoever preaches. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer Book is your principal business there, and if properly attended to will do more toward amending the heart than sermons generally can do. For they were composed by men of much greater piety and wisdom than our common composers of sermons can pretend to be, and therefore I wish you would never miss the prayer days; yet I do not mean you should despise sermons, even of the preachers you dislike, for the discourse is often much better than the man, as sweet and clear waters come through very dirty earth. I am the more particular on this head, as you seemed to express a little before I came away some inclination to leave our church, which I would not have you do.

For the rest, I would only recommend to you in my absence to acquire those useful accomplishments, arithmetic and book-keeping. This you might do

ence to the dissensions between the popular and the proprietary portion, are believed to have been written by Hannah Griffiths, of Philadelphia:

"*Inscription on a curious Stove in the Form of an Urn, contrived in such a Manner as to make the Flame descend instead of rising from the Fire. Invented by Dr. Franklin.*

"Like a Newton sublimely he soared
To a summit before unattained,
New regions of science explored,
And the palm of philosophy gained.

"With a spark which he caught from the skies,
He displayed an unparalleled wonder,
For we saw with delight and surprise
That his rod could defend us from thunder,

"Oh! had he been wise to pursue
The track for his talent designed,
What a tribute of praise had been due
To the teacher and friend of mankind.

"But to covet political fame
Was in him a degrading ambition,
For a spark which from Lucifer came,
Had kindled the blaze of sedition.

"Let candor then write on his urn:
'Here lies the renowned inventor,
Whose flame to the skies ought to burn,
But inverted descends to the centre.'"

The following note is appended to this poem in the Franklin collection:

"Dr. Benjamin Franklin invented the Empyreal Stove for inverting or turning the smoke downwards. When they were first offered to the public, it is said, a gentleman wrote the above lines, and attached them to one of these inverted stoves."

with ease if you would resolve not to see company on the hours you set apart for those studies.

We expect to be at sea to-morrow if this wind holds, after which I shall have no opportunity of writing to you till I arrive (if it please God I do arrive) in England. I pray that his blessing may attend you, which is worth more than a thousand of mine, though they are never wanting. Give my love to your brother and sister,[1] as I cannot write to them, and remember me affectionately to the young ladies, your friends, and to our good neighbors. I am, my dear child, your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCL.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

SAINT HELEN'S ROAD, ISLE OF WIGHT,
5 o'clock, P.M., 9 December, 1764.

MY DEAR DEBBY:—This line is just to let you know that we have this moment come to an anchor here, and that I am going ashore at Portsmouth, and hope to be in London on Tuesday morning. No father could have been tenderer to a child than Captain Robinson has been to me, for which I am greatly obliged to Messrs. James and Drinker; but we have had terrible weather, and I have often been thankful that our dear Sally was not with me. Tell our friends that dined with us on the turtle, that the kind prayer they then put up for thirty days' fair wind to me was

[1] William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey, and his wife.

favorably heard and answered, we being just thirty days from land to land.

I am, thanks to God, very well and hearty. John has behaved well to me, and so has everybody on board. I thank all my friends for their favors, which contributed so much to the comfort of my voyage. I have not time to name names. You know whom I love and honor. Say all the proper things for me to everybody. Love to our children, and to my dear brother and sister. I am, dear Debby, your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.[1]

## CCLI.

A

## NARRATIVE

OF THE LATE MASSACRES, IN LANCASTER COUNTY, OF A NUMBER OF INDIANS, FRIENDS OF THIS PROVINCE, BY PERSONS UNKNOWN. WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAME.

These Indians were the remains of a tribe of the Six Nations, settled at Conestogo, and thence called Conestogo Indians. On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them, with presents of venison, corn, and skins; and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first proprietor, William Penn, which was to last "as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

This treaty has been since frequently renewed, and

[1] Franklin reached London in the evening of the 10th of December, and went immediately to his old lodgings in Craven Street.

the chain brightened, as they express it, from time to time. It has never been violated, on their part or ours, till now. As their lands by degrees were mostly purchased, and the settlements of the white people began to surround them, the proprietor assigned them lands on the manor of Conestogo, which they might not part with; there they have lived many years in friendship with their white neighbours, who loved them for their peaceable inoffensive behaviour.

It has always been observed that Indians settled in the neighbourhood of white people do not increase, but diminish continually. This tribe accordingly went on diminishing, till there remained in their town on the manor but twenty persons, viz.: seven men, five women, and eight children, boys and girls.

Of these, Shehaes was a very old man, having assisted at the second treaty held with them, by Mr. Penn, in 1701, and ever since continued a faithful and affectionate friend to the English. He is said to have been an exceeding good man, considering his education, being naturally of a most kind, benevolent temper.

Peggy was Shehaes's daughter; she worked for her aged father, continuing to live with him, though married, and attended him with filial duty and tenderness.

John was another good old man; his son Harry helped to support him.

George and Will Soc were two brothers, both young men.

John Smith, a valuable young man of the Cayuga

nation, who became acquainted with Peggy, Shehaes's daughter, some few years since, married, and settled in that family. They had one child, about three years old.

Betty, a harmless old woman; and her son Peter, a likely young lad.

Sally, whose Indian name was Wyanjoy, a woman much esteemed by all that knew her, for her prudent and good behaviour in some very trying situations of life. She was a truly good and amiable woman, had no children of her own; but, a distant relation dying, she had taken a child of that relation's, to bring up as her own, and performed towards it all the duties of an affectionate parent.

The reader will observe that many of the names are English. It is common with the Indians, that have an affection for the English, to give themselves and their children the names of such English persons as they particularly esteem.

This little society continued the custom they had begun, when more numerous, of addressing every new governor, and every descendant of the first proprietor, welcoming him to the province, assuring him of their fidelity, and praying a continuance of that favor and protection they had hitherto experienced. They had accordingly sent up an address of this kind to our present governor, on his arrival; but the same was scarce delivered when the unfortunate catastrophe happened, which we are about to relate.

On Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1763, fifty-seven men from some of our frontier townships, who

had projected the destruction of this little commonwealth, came, all well mounted, and armed with firelocks, hangers, and hatchets, having travelled through the country in the night, to Conestogo manor. There they surrounded the small village of Indian huts, and just at break of day broke into them all at once. Only three men, two women, and a young boy were found at home, the rest being out among the neighbouring white people, some to sell the baskets, brooms, and bowls they manufactured, and others on other occasions. These poor defenceless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatcheted to death! The good Shehaes, among the rest, cut to pieces in his bed. All of them were scalped and otherwise horribly mangled. Then their huts were set on fire, and most of them burnt down. Then the troop, pleased with their own conduct and bravery, but enraged that any of the poor Indians had escaped the massacre, rode off, and in small parties, by different roads, went home.

The universal concern of the neighbouring white people, on hearing of this event, and the lamentations of the younger Indians, when they returned and saw the desolation, and the butchered, half-burnt bodies of their murdered parents and other relations, cannot well be expressed.

The magistrates of Lancaster sent out to collect the remaining Indians, brought them into the town for their better security against any farther attempt; and, it is said, condoled with them on the misfortune that had happened, took them by the hand, comforted,

and promised them protection. They were all put into the workhouse, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety.

When the shocking news arrived in town, a proclamation was issued by the governor, in the following terms, viz. :

"WHEREAS I have received information that on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of this month, a number of people, armed and mounted on horseback, unlawfully assembled together, and went to the Indian town in the Conestogo manor, in Lancaster county, and without the least reason or provocation, in cool blood, barbarously killed six of the Indians settled there, and burnt and destroyed all their houses and effects; and whereas so cruel and inhuman an act, committed in the heart of this province on the said Indians, who have lived peaceably and inoffensively among us during all our late troubles, and for many years before, and were justly considered as under the protection of this government and its laws, calls loudly for the vigorous exertion of the civil authority, to detect the offenders, and bring them to condign punishment; I have, therefore, by and with the advice and consent of the council, thought fit to issue this proclamation, and do hereby strictly charge and enjoin all judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, officers, civil and military, and all other his Majesty's liege subjects within this province, to make diligent search and inquiry after the authors and perpetrators of the said crime, their abettors and accomplices, and to use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public gaols of this province, that they may be brought to their trials, and be proceeded against according to law.

"And whereas a number of other Indians, who lately lived on or near the frontiers of this province, being willing and desirous to preserve and continue the ancient friendship,

which heretofore subsisted between them and the good people of this province, have, at their own earnest request, been removed from their habitations, and brought into the county of Philadelphia, and seated for the present, for their better security, on the Province Island, and in other places in the neighborhood of the city of Philadelphia, where provision is made for them at the public expense; I do, therefore, hereby strictly forbid all persons whatsoever, to molest or injure any of the said Indians, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

"Given under my hand, and the great seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, the twenty-second day of December, *anno Domini*, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, and in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign.

"JOHN PENN.

"By his Honor's command,

"JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR., *Secretary.*

"God save the King."

Notwithstanding this proclamation, those cruel men again assembled themselves, and, hearing that the remaining fourteen Indians were in the workhouse at Lancaster, they suddenly appeared in that town, on the 27th of December. Fifty of them, armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the workhouse, and by violence broke open the door, and entered with the utmost fury in their countenances. When the poor wretches saw they had no protection nigh, nor could possibly escape, and being without the least weapon for defence, they divided into their little families, the children clinging to the parents; they fell on their knees, protested their innocence, declared their love to the English, and that in their whole lives they had never done them injury; and in this

posture they all received the hatchet! Men, women, and little children were every one inhumanly murdered in cold blood!

The barbarous men who committed the atrocious fact, in defiance of government, of all laws human and divine, and to the eternal disgrace of their country and color, then mounted their horses, huzzaed in triumph, as if they had gained a victory, and rode off *unmolested!*

The bodies of the murdered were then brought out and exposed in the street, till a hole could be made in the earth to receive and cover them.

But the wickedness cannot be covered; the guilt will lie on the whole land, till justice is done on the murderers. The blood of the innocent will cry to Heaven for vengeance.

It is said that Shehaes being before told, that it was to be feared some English might come from the frontier into the country, and murder him and his people, he replied: "It is impossible; there are Indians, indeed, in the woods, who would kill me and mine, if they could get at us, for my friendship to the English; but the English will wrap me in their matchcoat, and secure me from all danger." How unfortunately was he mistaken!

Another proclamation has been issued, offering a great reward for apprehending the murderers, in the following terms, viz.:

"WHEREAS on the twenty-second day of December last, I issued a proclamation for the apprehending and bringing to justice a number of persons, who, in violation of the pub-

lic faith, and in defiance of all law, had inhumanly killed six of the Indians, who had lived in Conestogo manor, for the course of many years, peaceably and inoffensively, under the protection of this government, on lands assigned to them for their habitation; notwithstanding which, I have received information, that on the twenty-seventh of the same month, a large party of armed men again assembled and met together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, in the county of Lancaster, and proceeded to the town of Lancaster, where they violently broke open the workhouse, and butchered and put to death fourteen of the said Conestogo Indians, men, women, and children, who had been taken under the immediate care and protection of the magistrates of the said county, and lodged for their better security in the said workhouse, till they should be more effectually provided for by order of the government; and whereas common justice loudly demands, and the laws of the land (upon the preservation of which not only the liberty and security of every individual, but the being of the government itself depends) require, that the above offenders should be brought to condign punishment: I have, therefore, by and with the advice of the council, published this proclamation, and do hereby strictly charge and command all judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, officers, civil and military, and all other his Majesty's faithful and liege subjects within this province, to make diligent search and inquiries after the authors and perpetrators of the said last-mentioned offence, their abettors and accomplices, and that they use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public gaols of this province, to be dealt with according to law.

"And I do hereby further promise and engage, that any person or persons who shall apprehend and secure, or cause to be apprehended and secured, any three of the ringleaders of the said party, and prosecute them to conviction, shall have and receive for each the public reward of two hundred

pounds; and any accomplice, not concerned in the immediate shedding the blood of the said Indians, who shall make discovery of any or either of the said ringleaders, and apprehend and prosecute them to conviction, shall, over and above the said reward, have all the weight and influence of the government, for obtaining his Majesty's pardon for his offence.

"Given under my hand, and the great seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, the second day of January, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

"JOHN PENN.

"By his Honor's command,

"JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR., *Secretary.*

"God save the King."

These proclamations have as yet produced no discovery, the murderers having given out such threatenings against those that disapprove their proceedings, that the whole country seems to be in terror, and no one dare speak what he knows; even the letters from thence are unsigned in which any dislike is expressed of the rioters.

There are some (I am ashamed to hear it) who would extenuate the enormous wickedness of these actions by saying: "The inhabitants of the frontiers are exasperated with the murder of their relations by the enemy Indians in the present war." It is possible; but though this might justify their going out into the woods to seek for those enemies and avenge upon them those murders, it can never justify their turning into the heart of the country to murder their friends.

If an Indian injures me, does it follow that I may

revenge that injury on all Indians? It is well known that Indians are of different tribes, nations, and languages as well as the white people. In Europe, if the French, who are white people, should injure the Dutch, are they to revenge it on the English, because they too are white people? The only crime of these poor wretches seems to have been that they had a reddish-brown skin and black hair, and some people of that sort, it seems, had murdered some of our relations. If it be right to kill men for such a reason, then should any man with a freckled face and red hair kill a wife or child of mine, it would be right for me to revenge it by killing all the freckled, red-haired men, women, and children I could afterwards anywhere meet with.

But it seems these people think they have a better justification; nothing less than the Word of God. With the Scriptures in their hand and mouths they can set at nought that express demand, *Thou shalt do no murder*, and justify their wickedness by the command given Joshua to destroy the heathen. Horrid perversion of Scripture and of religion! To father the worst of crimes on the God of peace and love! Even the Jews, to whom that particular commission was directed, spared the Gibeonites on account of their faith once given. The faith of this government has been frequently given to those Indians; but that did not avail them with people who despise government.

We pretend to be Christians, and from the superior light we enjoy ought to exceed heathens, Turks,

Saracens, Moors, Negroes, and Indians in the knowledge and practice of what is right. I will endeavour to show, by a few examples from books and history, the sense those people have had of such actions.

Homer wrote his poem, called the *Odyssey*, some hundred years before the birth of Christ. He frequently speaks of what he calls not only the duties, but the sacred rites of hospitality, exercised towards strangers while in our house or territory, as including, besides all the common circumstances of entertainment, full safety and protection of person from all danger of life, from all injuries, and even insults. The rites of hospitality were called *sacred*, because the stranger, the poor, and the weak, when they applied for protection and relief, were from the religion of those times supposed to be sent by the Deity to try the goodness of men, and that he would avenge the injuries they might receive where they ought to have been protected. These sentiments, therefore, influenced the manners of all ranks of people, even the meanest; for we find that when Ulysses came as a poor stranger to the hut of Eumæus, the swineherd, and his great dogs ran out to tear the ragged man, Eumæus drave them away with stones, and

"'Unhappy stranger!' (thus the faithful swain
Began, with accent gracious and humane)
'What sorrow had been mine, if at *my* gate
Thy reverend age had met a shameful fate!
But enter this my lonely roof, and see
Our woods not void of hospitality.'
He said, and seconding the kind request,
With friendly step precedes the unknown guest,

A shaggy goat's soft hide beneath him spread,
And with fresh rushes heaped an ample bed.
Joy touched the hero's tender soul, to find
So just reception from a heart so kind;
And 'O ye gods, with all your blessings grace'
(He thus broke forth) 'this friend of human race!'
The swain replied: 'It never was our guise
To slight the poor, or aught humane despise.
For Jove unfolds the hospitable door,
'T is Jove that sends the stranger and the poor.'"

These heathen people thought that after a breach of the rights of hospitality a curse from Heaven would attend them in every thing they did, and even their honest industry in their callings would fail of success. Thus when Ulysses tells Eumæus, who doubted the truth of what he related: "If I deceive you in this I should deserve death, and I consent that you should put me to death"; Eumæus rejects the proposal as what would be attended with both infamy and misfortune, saying ironically:

"Doubtless, O guest, great laud and praise were mine,
If, after social rites and gifts bestowed,
I stained my hospitable hearth with blood.
How would the gods my righteous toils succeed,
And bless the hand that made a stranger bleed?
No more."

Even an open enemy, in the heat of battle, throwing down his arms, submitting to his foe, and asking life and protection, was supposed to acquire an immediate right to that protection. Thus one describes his being saved when his party was defeated:

"We turned to flight; the gathering vengeance spread
On all parts round, and heaps on heaps lie dead.

The radiant helmet from my brows unlaced,
And lo, on earth my shield and javelin cast,
I meet the monarch with a suppliant's face,
Approach his chariot, and his knees embrace.
He heard, he saved, he placed me at his side;
My state he pitied, and my tears he dried;
Restrained the rage the vengeful foe expressed,
And turned the deadly weapons from my breast.
Pious to guard the hospitable rite,
And fearing Jove, whom mercy's works delight."

The suitors of Penelope are, by the same ancient poet, described as a set of lawless men, who were regardless of the sacred rights of hospitality. And, therefore, when the Queen was informed they were slain, and that by Ulysses, she, not believing that Ulysses was returned, says:

"Ah no! some god the suitors' deaths decreed,
Some god descends, and by his hand they bleed;
Blind, to contemn the stranger's righteous cause,
And violate all hospitable laws!
. . . The powers they defied;
But Heaven is just, and by a god they died."

Thus much for the sentiments of the ancient heathens. As for the Turks, it is recorded in the Life of Mahomet, the founder of their religion, that Khaled, one of his captains, having divided a number of prisoners between himself and those that were with him, he commanded the hands of his own prisoners to be tied behind them, and then, in a most cruel and brutal manner, put them to the sword; but he could not prevail on his men to massacre *their* captives, because in fight they had laid down their arms, submitted, and demanded protection. Ma-

homet, when the account was brought to him, applauded the men for their humanity; but said to Khaled, with great indignation: "O Khaled, thou butcher, cease to molest me with thy wickedness. If thou possessedst a heap of gold as large as Mount Obod, and shouldst expend it all in God's cause, thy merit would not efface the guilt incurred by the murder of the meanest of those poor captives."

Among the Arabs or Saracens, though it was lawful to put to death a prisoner taken in battle, if he had made himself obnoxious by his former wickedness, yet this could not be done after he had once eaten bread, or drunk water, while in their hands. Hence we read in the history of the wars of the Holy Land, that when the Franks had suffered a great defeat from Saladin, and among the prisoners were the king of Jerusalem, and Arnold, a famous Christian captain, who had been very cruel to the Saracens; these two being brought before the Sultan, he placed the king on his right hand and Arnold on his left; and then presented the king with a cup of water, who immediately drank to Arnold; but when Arnold was about to receive the cup, the Sultan interrupted, saying: "I will not suffer this wicked man to drink, as that, according to the laudable and generous customs of the Arabs, would secure him his life."

That the same laudable and generous custom still prevails among the Mahometans, appears from the account, but last year published, of his travels by Mr. Bell, of Antermony, who accompanied the Czar, Peter the Great, in his journey to Derbent through

Daggestan. "The religion of the Daggestans," says he, "is generally Mohammedan, some following the sect of Osman, others that of Haly. Their language for the most part is Turkish, or rather a dialect of the Arabic, though many of them speak also the Persian language. One article I cannot omit concerning their laws of hospitality, which is, if their greatest enemy comes under their roof for protection, the landlord, of what condition soever, is obliged to keep him safe, from all manner of harm or violence, during his abode with him, and even to conduct him safely through his territories to a place of security."

From the Saracens this same custom obtained among the Moors of Africa; was by them brought into Spain, and there long sacredly observed. The Spanish historians record with applause one famous instance of it. While the Moors governed there, and the Spaniards were mixed with them, a Spanish cavalier in a sudden quarrel slew a young Moorish gentleman and fled. His pursuers soon lost sight of him; for he had, unperceived, thrown himself over a garden wall. The owner, a Moor, happening to be in his garden, was addressed by the Spaniard on his knees, who acquainted him with his case, and implored concealment. "Eat this," said the Moor, giving him half a peach. "You now know that you may confide in my protection." He then locked him up in his garden apartment, telling him that as soon as it was night he would provide for his escape to a place of more safety. The Moor then went into his

house, where he had scarce seated himself when a great crowd, with loud lamentations, came to his gate, bringing the corpse of his son, that had just been killed by a Spaniard. When the first shock of surprise was a little over, he learnt from the description given that the fatal deed was done by the person then in his power. He mentioned this to no one; but as soon as it was dark retired to his garden apartment, as if to grieve alone, giving orders that none should follow him. There accosting the Spaniard he said: "Christian, the person you have killed is my son. His body is now in my house. You ought to suffer; but you have eaten with me, and I have given you my faith, which must not be broken. Follow me." He then led the astonished Spaniard to his stables, mounted him on one of his fleetest horses, and said: "Fly far while the night can cover you. You will be safe in the morning. You are indeed guilty of my son's blood; but God is just and good, and I thank him that I am innocent of yours, and that my faith given is preserved."

The Spaniards caught from the Moors this *punto* of honor, the effects of which remain, in a degree, to this day. So that when there is fear of a war about to break out between England and Spain, an English merchant there, who apprehends the confiscation of his goods as the goods of an enemy, thinks them safe if he can get a Spaniard to take charge of them; for the Spaniard secures them as his own, and faithfully redelivers them, or pays the value, whenever the Englishman can safely demand it.

Justice to that nation, though lately our enemies, and hardly yet our cordial friends, obliges me on this occasion not to omit mentioning an instance of Spanish honor which cannot but be still fresh in the memory of many yet living. In 1746, when we were in hot war with Spain, the Elizabeth, of London, Captain William Edwards, coming through the Gulf from Jamaica richly laden, met with a most violent storm, in which the ship sprung a leak, that obliged them, for the saving of their lives, to run her into the Havana. The captain went on shore, directly waited on the governor, told the occasion of his putting in, and that he surrendered his ship as a prize, and himself and his men as prisoners of war, only requesting good quarter. "No, sir," replied the Spanish governor; "if we had taken you in fair war at sea, or approaching our coast with hostile intentions, your ship would then have been a prize, and your people prisoners. But when distressed by a tempest you come into our ports for the safety of your lives, we, though enemies, being men, are bound as such by the laws of humanity to afford relief to distressed men who ask it of us. We cannot, even against our enemies, take advantage of an act of God. You have leave, therefore, to unload the ship, if that be necessary, to stop the leak; you may refit here, and traffic so far as shall be necessary to pay the charges. You may then depart, and I will give you a pass, to be in force till you are beyond Bermuda. If after that you are taken, you will then be a prize; but now you are only a stranger, and have a

stranger's right to safety and protection." The ship accordingly departed, and arrived safe in London.

Will it be permitted me to adduce, on this occasion, an instance of a like honor in a poor unenlightened African Negro? I find it in Captain Seagrave's account of his Voyage of Guinea. He relates that a New England sloop, trading there in 1852, left their second mate, William Murray, sick on shore, and sailed without him. Murray was at the house of a black, named Cudjoe, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance during their trade. He recovered, and the sloop being gone, he continued with his black friend till some other opportunity should offer of his getting home. In the meanwhile, a Dutch ship came into the road, and some of the blacks going on board her, were treacherously seized, and carried off as slaves. Their relations and friends, transported with sudden rage, ran to the house of Cudjoe to take revenge by killing Murray. Cudjoe stopped them at the door, and demanded what they wanted. "The white men," said they, "have carried away our brothers and sons, and we will kill all white men; give us the white man that you keep in your house, for we will kill him." "Nay," said Cudjoe, "the white men that carried away your brothers are bad men, kill them when you can catch them; but this white man is a good man, and you must not kill him." "But he is a white man," they cried; "the white men are all bad, and we will kill them all." "Nay," says he, "you must not kill a man, that has done no harm, only for being white. This man is my friend, my house is

his fort, and I am his soldier. I must fight for him. You must kill me, before you can kill him. What good man will ever come again under my roof, if I let my floor be stained with a good man's blood!" The Negroes, seeing his resolution, and being convinced by his discourse that they were wrong, went away ashamed. In a few days, Murray ventured abroad again with Cudjoe, when several of them took him by the hand, and told him they were glad they had not killed him; for, as he was a good (meaning an innocent) man, their God would have been angry, and would have spoiled their fishing. "I relate this," says Captain Seagrave, "to show that some among these dark people have a strong sense of justice and honor, and that even the most brutal among them are capable of feeling the force of reason, and of being influenced by a fear of God (if the knowledge of the true God could be introduced among them), since even the fear of a false god, when their rage subsided, was not without its good effect."

Now I am about to mention something of Indians, I beg that I may not be understood as framing apologies for *all* Indians. I am far from desiring to lessen the laudable spirit of resentment in my countrymen against those now at war with us, so far as it is justified by their perfidy and inhumanity. I would only observe, that the Six Nations, as a body, have kept faith with the English ever since we knew them, now near a hundred years; and that the governing part of those people have had notions of honor, whatever may be the case with the rum-debauched, trader-cor-

rupted vagabonds and thieves on the Susquehanna and Ohio, at present in arms against us. As a proof of that honor, I shall only mention one well-known recent fact. When six Catawba deputies, under the care of Colonel Bull, of Charlestown, went by permission into the Mohawks' country, to sue for and treat of peace, for their nation, they soon found the Six Nations highly exasperated, and the peace at that time impracticable. They were therefore in fear of their own persons, and apprehended that they should be killed in their way back to New York; which being made known to the Mohawk chiefs by Colonel Bull, one of them, by order of the council, made this speech to the Catawbas:

"Strangers and Enemies:

"While you are in this country, blow away all fear out of your breasts; change the black streak of paint on your cheek for a red one, and let your faces shine with bear's grease. You are safer here than if you were at home. The Six Nations will not defile their own land with the blood of men that come unarmed to ask for peace. We shall send a guard with you, to see you safe out of our territories. So far you shall have peace, but no farther. Get home to your own country, and take care of yourselves, for there we intend to come and kill you."

The Catawbas came away unhurt accordingly.

It is also well known that just before the late war broke out, when our traders first went among the Piankeshaw Indians, a tribe of the Twigtwees, they found the principle of giving protection to strangers in full force; for, the French coming with their In-

dians to the Piankeshaw town, and demanding that those traders and their goods should be delivered up, the Piankeshaws replied the English were come there upon their invitation, and they could not do so base a thing. But the French insisting on it, the Piankeshaws took arms in defence of their guests, and a number of them, with their old chief, lost their lives in the cause, the French at last prevailing by superior force only.

I will not dissemble that numberless stories have been raised and spread abroad, against not only the poor wretches that are murdered, but also against the hundred and forty Christianized Indians, still threatened to be murdered; all which stories are well known, by those who know the Indians best, to be pure inventions, contrived by bad people, either to excite each other to join in the murder, or since it was committed, to justify it, and believed only by the weak and credulous. I call thus publicly on the makers and venders of these accusations to produce their evidence. Let them satisfy the public that even Will Soc, the most obnoxious of all that tribe, was really guilty of those offences against us which they lay to his charge. But, if he was, ought he not to have been fairly tried? He lived under our laws, and was subject to them; he was in our hands, and might easily have been prosecuted; was it English justice to condemn and execute him unheard? Conscious of his own innocence, he did not endeavour to hide himself when the door of the workhouse, his sanctuary, was breaking open. "I will meet them,"

says he, "for they are my brothers." These brothers of his shot him down at the door, while the word "brothers" was between his teeth.

But if Will Soc was a bad man, what had poor old Shehaes done? What could he or the other poor old men and women do? What had little boys and girls done? What could children of a year old, babes at the breast, what could they do, that they too must be shot and hatcheted? Horrid to relate! And in their parents' arms! This is done by no civilized nation in Europe. Do we come to America to learn and practise the manners of barbarians? But this, barbarians as they are, they practise against their enemies only, not against their friends. These poor people have been always our friends. Their fathers received ours, when strangers here, with kindness and hospitality. Behold the return we have made them! When we grew more numerous and powerful, they put themselves under our protection. See, in the mangled corpses of the last remains of the tribe, how effectually we have afforded it to them!

Unhappy people! to have lived in such times, and by such neighbours. We have seen that they would have been safer among the ancient heathens, with whom the rites of hospitality were sacred. They would have been considered as guests of the public, and the religion of the country would have operated in their favor. But our frontier people call themselves Christians! They would have been safer, if they had submitted to the Turks; for ever since Mahomet's reproof to Khaled, even the cruel Turks

never kill prisoners in cold blood. These were not even prisoners. But what is the example of Turks to Scripture Christians? They would have been safer, though they had been taken in actual war against the Saracens, if they had once drank water with them. These were not taken in war against us, and have drunk with us, and we with them, for fourscore years. But shall we compare Saracens to Christians?

They would have been safer among the Moors in Spain, though they had been murderers of sons; if faith had once been pledged to them, and a promise of protection given. But these have had the faith of the English given to them many times by the government, and, in reliance on that faith, they lived among us, and gave us the opportunity of murdering them. However, what was honorable in Moors, may not be a rule to us; for we are Christians! They would have been safer, it seems, among Popish Spaniards, even if enemies, and delivered into their hands by a tempest. These were not enemies; they were born among us, and yet we have killed them all. But shall we imitate idolatrous Papists, we that are enlightened Protestants? They would even have been safer among the Negroes of Africa, where at least one manly soul would have been found, with sense, spirit, and humanity enough, to stand in their defence. But shall white men and Christians act like a Pagan Negro? In short, it appears, that they would have been safe in any part of the known world, except in the neighborhood of the *Christian white savages* of Peckstang and Donegall!

O, ye unhappy perpetrators of this horrid wickedness! reflect a moment on the mischief ye have done, the disgrace ye have brought on your country, on your religion and your Bible, on your families and children. Think on the destruction of your captivated countryfolks (now among the wild Indians) which probably may follow, in resentment of your barbarity! Think on the wrath of the United Five Nations, hitherto our friends, but now, provoked by your murdering one of their tribes, in danger of becoming our bitter enemies. Think of the mild and good government you have so audaciously insulted; the laws of your king, your country, and your God, that you have broken; the infamous death that hangs over your heads; for justice, though slow, will come at last. All good people everywhere detest your actions. You have imbrued your hands in innocent blood; how will you make them clean? The dying shrieks and groans of the murdered will often sound in your ears. Their spectres will sometimes attend you, and affright even your innocent children. Fly where you will, your consciences will go with you. Talking in your sleep shall betray you; in the delirium of a fever you yourselves shall make your own wickedness known.

One hundred and forty peaceable Indians yet remain in this government. They have, by Christian missionaries, been brought over to a liking, at least, of our religion; some of them lately left their nation, which is now at war with us, because they did not choose to join with them in their depredations; and

to show their confidence in us, and to give us an equal confidence in them, they have brought and put into our hands their wives and children. Others have lived long among us in Northampton county, and most of their children have been born there. These are all now trembling for their lives. They have been hurried from place to place for safety, now concealed in corners, then sent out of the province, refused a passage through a neighbouring colony, and returned, not unkindly, perhaps, but disgracefully, on our hands. O Pennsylvania! Once renowned for kindness to strangers, shall the clamors of a few mean niggards about the expense of this public hospitality, an expense that will not cost the noisy wretches sixpence a piece (and what is the expense of the poor maintenance we afford them, compared to the expense they might occasion if in arms against us?),—shall so senseless a clamor, I say, force you to turn out of your own doors these unhappy guests, who have offended their own country-folks by their affection for you, who, confiding in your goodness, have put themselves under your protection? Those whom you have disarmed to satisfy groundless suspicions, will you leave them exposed to the armed madmen of your country? Unmanly men! who are not ashamed to come with weapons against the unarmed, to use the sword against women, and the bayonet against young children; and who have already given such bloody proofs of their inhumanity and cruelty.

Let us rouse ourselves, for shame, and redeem the

honor of our province from the contempt of its neighbours; let all good men join heartily and unanimously in support of the laws, and in strengthening the hands of government; that justice may be done, the wicked punished, and the innocent protected; otherwise we can, as a people, expect no blessing from Heaven; there will be no security for our persons or properties; anarchy and confusion will prevail over all; and violence without judgment dispose of every thing.

When I mention the baseness of the murderers, in the use they made of arms, I cannot, I ought not, to forget the very different behaviour of brave men and true soldiers, of which this melancholy occasion has afforded us fresh instances. The Royal Highlanders have, in the course of this war, suffered as much as any other corps, and have frequently had their ranks thinned by an Indian enemy, yet they did not for this retain a brutal undistinguishing resentment against *all* Indians, friends as well as foes. But a company of them, happening to be here, when the one hundred and forty poor Indians above mentioned were thought in too much danger to stay longer in the province, cheerfully undertook to protect and escort them to New York, which they executed (as far as that Government would permit the Indians to come) with fidelity and honor; and their captain, Robinson, is justly applauded and honored by all sensible and good people, for the care, tenderness, and humanity, with which he treated those unhappy fugitives, during their march in this severe season.

General Gage, too, has approved of his officer's

conduct, and, as I hear, ordered him to remain with the Indians at Amboy, and continue his protection to them, till another body of the King's forces could be sent to relieve his company, and escort their charge back in safety to Philadelphia, where his Excellency has had the goodness to direct those forces to remain for some time, under the orders of our governor, for the security of the Indians; the troops of this province being at present necessarily posted on the frontier. Such just and generous actions endear the military to the civil power, and impress the minds of all the discerning with a still greater respect for our national government. I shall conclude with observing, that cowards can handle arms, can strike where they are sure to meet with no return, can wound, mangle, and murder; but it belongs to brave men to spare and to protect; for, as the poet says,

"Mercy still sways the brave."

## CCLII.

### COOL THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION OF OUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.[1]

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY.

PHILADELPHIA, 12 April, 1764.

SIR:—Your apology was unnecessary. It will be no trouble, but a pleasure, if I can give you the satisfac-

[1] Franklin's first mission to England was successful in its purpose to have the proprietary estates in Pennsylvania pay their due share of the taxes for the defence of the country, but not in producing harmony between the proprietary and the popular party. The governor, acting in the interest of the proprietaries, resisted the wishes of the Assembly, and there was great discontent. The best remedy for this state of things, in Franklin's judgment, was to have the king take the government of the colony into his own hands, indemnifying the proprietaries. This paper was written to enforce that view.—EDITOR.

tion you desire. I shall therefore immediately communicate to you my motives for approving the proposal of endeavouring to obtain a Royal Government, in exchange for this of the Proprietaries; with such answers to the objections you mention as, in my opinion, fully obviate them.

I do not purpose entering into the merits of the disputes between the proprietaries and the people. I only observe it as a fact known to us all, that such disputes there are, and that they have long subsisted, greatly to the prejudice of the province, clogging and embarrassing all the wheels of government, and exceedingly obstructing the public defence, and the measures wisely concerted by our gracious Sovereign, for the common security of the colonies. I may add it as another fact, that we are all heartily tired of these disputes.

It is very remarkable, that disputes of the same kind have arisen in *all* proprietary governments, and subsisted till their dissolution. All were made unhappy by them, and found no relief but in recurring finally to the immediate government of the crown. Pennsylvania and Maryland are the only two of the kind remaining, and both at this instant agitated by the same contentions between proprietary interest and power, and popular liberty. Through these contentions the good people of that province are rendered equally unhappy with ourselves, and their proprietary, perhaps, more so than ours; for he has no Quakers in his assembly to saddle with the blame of those contentions, nor can he justify himself with

the pretence, that turning to the church has made his people his enemies.

Pennsylvania had scarce been settled twenty years, when these disputes began between the first proprietor and the original settlers; they continued, with some intermissions, during his whole life; his widow took them up, and continued them after his death. Her sons resumed them very early,[1] and they still subsist. Mischievous and distressing as they have been found to both proprietors and people, it does not appear that there is any prospect of their being extinguished, till either the proprietary purse is unable to support them, or the spirit of the people so broken, that they shall be willing to submit to any thing, rather than continue them. The first is not very likely to happen, as that immense estate goes on increasing.

Considering all circumstances, I am at length inclined to think, that the cause of these miserable contentions is not to be sought for merely in the depravity and selfishness of human minds. For, though it is not unlikely that in these, as well as in other disputes, there are faults on both sides, every glowing coal being apt to inflame its opposite; yet I see no reason to suppose that all proprietary rulers are worse men than other rulers, nor that all people in proprietary governments are worse people than those in other governments. I suspect, therefore, that the cause is radical, interwoven in the constitution, and

[1] See their message to the assembly, in which the right of sitting on their own adjournments is denied.

so become the very nature, of proprietary governments; and will therefore produce its effects, as long as such governments continue. And, as some physicians say, every animal body brings into the world among its original stamina the seeds of that disease that shall finally produce its dissolution; so the political body of a proprietary government contains those convulsive principles that will at length destroy it.

I may not be philosopher enough to develope those principles, nor would this letter afford me room, if I had abilities, for such a discussion. The fact seems sufficient for our purpose, and the fact is notorious, that such contentions have been in all proprietary governments, and have brought, or are now bringing, them all to a conclusion. I will only mention one particular common to them all. Proprietaries must have a multitude of private accounts and dealings with almost all the people of their provinces, either for purchase money or quit-rents. Dealings often occasion differences and differences produce mutual opinions of injustice. If proprietaries do not insist on small rights, they must on the whole lose large sums; and if they do insist on small rights, they seem to descend, their dignity suffers in the opinion of the people, and with it the respect necessary to keep up the authority of government. The people, who think themselves injured in point of property, are discontented with the government, and grow turbulent; and the proprietaries' using their powers of government to procure for themselves what they think justice in their points of property, renders those

powers odious. I suspect this has had no small share in producing the confusions incident to those governments. They appear, however, to be, of all others, the most unhappy.

At present we are in a wretched situation. The government, that ought to keep all in order, is itself weak, and has scarce authority enough to keep the common peace. Mobs assemble and kill (we scarce dare say murder) numbers of innocent people in cold blood, who were under the protection of the government. Proclamations are issued to bring the rioters to justice. Those proclamations are treated with the utmost indignity and contempt. Not a magistrate dares wag a finger towards discovering or apprehending the delinquents (we must not call them *murderers*). They assemble again, and with arms in their hands approach the capital. The government truckles, condescends to cajole them, and drops all prosecution of their crimes; whilst honest citizens, threatened in their lives and fortunes, flee the province, as having no confidence in the public protection. We are daily threatened with more of these tumults; and the government, which in its distress called aloud on the sober inhabitants to come with arms to its assistance, now sees those who afforded that assistance daily libelled, abused, and menaced by its partisans for so doing; whence it has little reason to expect such assistance on another occasion.

In this situation, what is to be done? By what means is that harmony between the two branches of government to be obtained, without which the inter-

nal peace of the province cannot be well secured? One project is, to turn all Quakers out of the assembly; or, by obtaining more members for the back counties, to get a majority in who are not Quakers. This, perhaps, is not very difficult to do; and more members for those counties may, on other accounts, be proper; but I much question if it would answer this end, as I see among the members, that those who are not Quakers, and even those from the back counties, are as hearty and unanimous in opposing what they think proprietary injustice, as the Quakers themselves, if not more so. Religion has happily nothing to do with our present differences, though great pains is taken to lug it into the squabble. And even were the Quakers extirpated, I doubt whether the proprietaries, while they pursue the same measures, would be a whit more at their ease.

Another project is, to choose none for assemblymen but such as are friends to the proprietaries. The number of members is not so great, but that I believe the scheme may be practicable, if you look for representatives among proprietary officers and dependants. Undoubtedly it would produce great harmony between governor and assembly; but how would both of them agree with the people? Their principles and conduct must greatly change, if they would be elected a second year. But that might be needless. Six parts in seven agreeing with the governor, could make the House perpetual. This, however, would not probably establish peace in the province. The quarrel the people now have with

the proprietaries, would then be with both the proprietaries and assembly. There seems to remain, then, but one remedy for our evils, a remedy approved by experience, and which has been tried with success by other provinces; I mean that of an immediate *Royal Government*, without the intervention of proprietary powers, which, like unnecessary springs and movements in a machine, are so apt to produce disorder.

It is not to be expected that the proposal of a change like this, should meet with no objections. Those you have mentioned to me, concerning liberty of conscience and the privileges of Dissenters, are, however, not difficult to answer; as they seem to arise merely from want of information or acquaintance with the state of other colonies, before and after such changes had been made in their government. Carolina and the Jerseys were formerly proprietary governments, but now immediately under the crown; and their cases had many circumstances similar to ours. Of the first we are told:

"There was a natural infirmity in the policy of their charter, which was the source of many of the misfortunes of the colony, without any imputation on the noble families concerned. For the grantees [the proprietors], being eight in number, and not incorporated, and no provision being made to conclude the whole number by the voices of the majority, there could not be timely measures always agreed on, which were proper or necessary for the good government of the plantation. In the meantime, the inhabitants

grew unruly and quarrelled about religion and politics; and while there was a mere anarchy among them, they were exposed to the attacks and insults of their Spanish and Indian neighbours, whom they had imprudently provoked and injured; and, as if they had conspired against the growth of the colony, they repealed their laws for liberty of conscience, though the majority of the people were Dissenters, and had resorted thither under the public faith for a complete indulgence, which they considered as part of their *Magna Charta.* Within these four years an end was put to their sorrows; for about that time, the lords proprietors and the planters (who had long been heartily tired of each other) were, by the interposition of the Legislature, fairly divorced for ever, and the property of the whole vested in the crown." [1] And the above-mentioned injudicious and unjust act against the privileges of Dissenters, was repealed by the King in council.

Another historian tells us: "Their intestine distractions, and their foreign wars kept the colony so low, that an act of Parliament, if possible to prevent the last ruinous consequences of these divisions, put the province under the immediate care and inspection of the crown." [2]

And Governor Johnson, at his first meeting the assembly there, after the change, tells them:

"His Majesty, out of his great goodness and fatherly care of you, and at the earnest request and

[1] "New and Accurate Account of Carolina," p. 14; printed at London, 1733.

[2] "Account of the British Settlements in America," p. 233, concerning Carolina.

solicitation of yourselves, has been graciously pleased, at a great expense, to purchase seven eighths of the late lords proprietaries' charter, whereby you are become under his immediate government, a blessing and security we have been long praying for, and solicitous of; the good effects of which we daily experience by the safety we enjoy, as well in our trade, the protection of his ships of war, as by land, by an independent company maintained purely for our safety and encouragement. The taking off the enumeration of rice is a peculiar favor," &c.[1]

By these accounts we learn, that the people of that province, far from losing by the change, obtained internal security and external protection both by sea and land; the Dissenters, a restoration and establishment of their privileges, which the proprietary government attempted to deprive them of; and the whole province, favors in point of trade with respect to their grand staple commodity, which from that time they were allowed to carry directly to foreign ports, without being obliged, as before, to enter in England.

With regard to the neighbouring province of New Jersey, we find, in a representation from the Board of Trade to the crown, dated "Whitehall, October 2d, 1701," the following account of it, namely: "That the inhabitants, in a petition to his Majesty the last year, complained of several grievances they lay under, by the neglect or mismanagement of the proprietors of that province, or their agents; unto which they also added, that during the whole time the said

[1] *Historical Register*, No. 63, for 1731.

proprietors have governed, or pretended to govern, that province, they have never taken care to preserve or defend the same from the Indians or other enemies, by sending or providing any arms, ammunition, or stores, as they ought to have done; and the said inhabitants thereupon humbly prayed his Majesty would be pleased to commissionate some fit person, to be governor over them. That it has been represented to us by several letters, memorials, and other papers, as well as from the inhabitants as proprietors, that they are at present in confusion and anarchy, and that it is much to be apprehended, lest by the heats of the parties that are amongst them, they should fall into such violences as may endanger the lives of many persons and destroy the colony."[1]

In consequence of these disorders, and petitions from the people, the proprietors were obliged to surrender that government to the crown; Queen Anne then reigning, who, of all our crowned heads since the Revolution, was by far the least favorable to Dissenters; yet her instructions to Lord Cornbury, her first governor, were express and full in their favor, viz.:

"*Instruction 51st.* You are to permit a liberty of conscience to all persons (except Papists), so that they may be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the government.

"*Instruction 52d.* And whereas we have been in-

[1] "Grants and Concessions, and Original Constitutions of New Jersey," printed at Philadelphia by W. Bradford, p. 606.

formed that divers of our good subjects inhabiting those parts, do make a religious scruple of swearing, and by reason of their refusing to take an oath in any court of justice and other places, are or may be liable to many inconveniences, our will and pleasure is, that, in order to their ease in what they conceive to be matter of conscience, so far as may be consistent with good order and government, you take care that an act be passed in the general assembly of our said province, to the like effect as that passed here in the seventh and eighth years of his late Majesty's reign, entitled: 'An Act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form'; and that the same be transmitted to us, and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as before directed.

"*Instruction 53d.* And whereas we have been farther informed, that in the settlement of the government of our said province it may so happen, that the number of inhabitants fitly qualified to serve in our council, in the general assembly, and in other places of trust and profit there, will be but small; it is therefore our will and pleasure, that such of the said people called Quakers, as shall be found capable of any of those places and employments, and accordingly be elected or appointed to serve therein, may, upon their taking and signing the declaration of allegiance to us, in the form used by the same people here in England, together with a solemn declaration for the true discharge of their respective trusts, be

admitted by you into any of the said places or employments," &c.[1]

And the same privileges have been, and still are, fully enjoyed in that province by Dissenters of all kinds; the council, assembly, and magistracy being filled with Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Quakers, promiscuously, without the least distinction or exclusion of any. We may farther remark, on the above report of the Board of Trade, that the defence of a proprietary province was originally looked upon as the duty of the proprietaries, who received the quit-rents, and had the emoluments of government; whence it was that in former wars, when arms, ammunition, cannon, and military stores of all kinds have been sent by the crown to all the colonies under its immediate government, whose situation and circumstances required it, nothing of the kind has been sent to proprietary governments. And to this day, neither Pennsylvania nor Maryland have received any such assistance from the crown; nor did Carolina, till it became a King's government.

Massachusetts Bay, in New England, lost its charter in the latter end of King Charles' reign, when the charters of London and all the corporations in England were seized. At the Revolution the crown gave them a better constitution, which they enjoy to this day. No advantages were taken against the privileges of the people, though then universally Dissenters. The same privileges are enjoyed by the Dissenters in New Hampshire, which has been a royal

[1] "Grants and Concessions," &c., p. 633.

government ever since 1679, when the freeholders and inhabitants petitioned to be taken under the immediate protection of the crown. Nor is there existing, in any of the American colonies, any *test* imposed by Great Britain, to exclude Dissenters from offices. In some colonies, indeed, where the Episcopalians, and in others the Dissenters, have been predominant, they have made partial laws in favor of their respective sects, and laid some difficulties on the others; but those laws have been generally, on complaint, repealed at home.

It is farther objected, you tell me, that "if we have a royal government, we must have with it a bishop and a spiritual court, and must pay tithes to support an Episcopal clergy." A bishop for America has been long talked of in England, and probably, from the apparent necessity of the thing, will sooner or later be appointed; because a voyage to England for ordination is extremely inconvenient and expensive to the young clergy educated in America; and the Episcopal churches and clergy in these colonies cannot so conveniently be governed and regulated by a bishop residing in England, as by one residing among those committed to his care. But this event will happen neither sooner nor later for our being or not being under a royal government. And the spiritual court, if the bishop should hold one, can have authority only with his own people, if with them, since it is not likely that any law of this province will ever be made to submit the inhabitants to it, or oblige them to pay tithes; and without such law, tithes can no

more be demanded here than they are in any other colony; and there is not a single instance of tithes demanded or paid in any part of America. A maintenance has, indeed, been established in some colonies for the Episcopal clergy; as in Virginia, a royal government, and in Maryland, a proprietary government. But this was done by acts of their own, which they were not obliged to make, if they did not choose it.

That "we shall have a standing army to maintain," is another bugbear raised to terrify us from endeavouring to obtain a King's government. It is very possible that the crown may think it necessary to keep troops in America henceforward, to maintain its conquests and defend the colonies, and that the Parliament may establish some revenue arising out of the American trade, to be applied towards supporting those troops. It is possible, too, that we may, after a few years' experience, be generally very well satisfied with that measure, from the steady protection it will afford us against foreign enemies, and the security of internal peace among ourselves, without the expense or trouble of a militia. But assure yourself, my friend, that, whether we like it or not, our continuing under a proprietary government will not prevent it, nor our coming under a royal government promote and forward it, any more than they would prevent or procure rain or sunshine.

The other objections you have communicated to me are, that, "in case of a change of proprietary for royal government, our judges and other officers

will be appointed and sent us from England; we must have a legislative council; our assembly will lose the right of sitting on their own adjournments; we shall lose the right of choosing sheriffs, and annual assemblies, and of voting by ballot." I shall not enter into the question, whether judges from England would probably be of advantage or disadvantage to our law proceedings. It is needless, as the power of appointing them is given to the governor here, by a law that has received the royal assent, the "Act for establishing Courts." The King's governor only comes in place of a proprietary governor; he must (if the change is made) take the government as he finds it. He can alter nothing. The same answer serves for all the subsequent objections. A legislative council under proper regulations might perhaps be an amendment of our constitution, but it cannot take place without our consent, as our constitution is otherwise established; nor can our assembly lose the right of sitting on their own adjournments; nor the people that of choosing sheriffs, and annual assemblies, or of voting by ballot; these rights being all confirmed by acts of assembly assented to by the crown. I mean the acts entitled: "An Act to ascertain the Number of Members of Assembly and to regulate the Elections," and "An Act for regulating the Elections of Sheriffs and Coroners"; both passed in the fourth of Queen Anne.

I know it has been asserted, to intimidate us, that those acts, so far from being approved by the crown, were never presented. But I can assure you, from

good authority, that they, with forty-eight others (all passed at the same time by Governor Evans), were duly laid before the Queen in council; who, on the 28th of April, 1709, referred the same to the Board of Trade. The Board, on the 8th of September, 1709, reported upon the said fifty acts, that they had considered the same, and had taken the opinion of the attorney-general upon several of them in point of law; and they represented against six of them, as unfit to be continued in force; but as to the other forty-four, the titles of which are given at large, and among them the two material acts above mentioned, they had no objection to the same. Whereupon there issued two orders of the Queen in council, both dated at the Court at Windsor, the 24th of October, 1709; one repealing the six laws objected to, and the other approving the remaining forty-four.

This is a fact that you may depend upon. There is therefore nothing now that can deprive us of those privileges, but an act of Parliament; and we may rely on the united justice of King, Lords, and Commons, that no such act will ever pass, while we continue loyal and dutiful subjects. An act of assembly, indeed, may give them up; but I trust, urgent as they are for admission, we shall never see proprietary friends enough in the House to make that detestable sacrifice.

In fine, it does not appear to me that this change of government can possibly hurt us; and I see many advantages that may flow from it. The expression, *change of government*, seems, indeed, to be too exten-

sive; and is apt to give the idea of a general and total change of our laws and constitution. It is rather and only a *change of governor*—that is, instead of self-interested proprietaries, a gracious King. His Majesty, who has no views but for the good of the people, will thenceforth appoint the governor, who, unshackled by proprietary instructions, will be at liberty to join with the assembly in enacting wholesome laws. At present, when the King requires supplies of his faithful subjects, and they are willing and desirous to grant them, the proprietaries intervene and say: "Unless our private interests in certain particulars are served, *nothing shall be done.*" This insolent tribunal VETO has long encumbered our public affairs, and been productive of many mischiefs. By the measure proposed, not even the proprietaries can justly complain of any injury. The being obliged to fulfil a fair contract is no injury. The crown will be under no difficulty in completing the old contract made with their father, as there needs no application to Parliament for the necessary sum, since half the quit-rents of the lower counties belongs to the King, and the many years' arrears in the proprietaries' hands, who are the collectors, must vastly exceed what they have a right to demand, or any reason to expect.[1]

On the whole, I cannot but think, the more the proposal is considered, of *an humble petition to the* KING *to take this province under his Majesty's immediate protection and government*, the more unanimously we shall go into it. We are chiefly people

[1] In 1722, the arrears then in their hands were computed at £18,000 sterling.

of three countries. British spirits can no longer bear the treatment they have received, nor will they put on the chains prepared for them by a fellow subject. And the Irish and Germans have felt too severely the oppressions of hard-hearted landlords and arbitrary princes, to wish to see, in the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, both the one and the other united.

I am, with much respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

A. B.

## CCLIII.

### PETITION TO THE KING,

FOR CHANGING THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA INTO A ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

*To the King's most excellent Majesty, in Council,*

The Petition of the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met,

Most humbly showeth:

That the government of this province by proprietaries has by long experience been found inconvenient, attended by many difficulties and obstructions to your Majesty's service, arising from the intervention of proprietary private interest in public affairs and disputes concerning those interests.

That the said proprietary government is weak, unable to support its own authority, and maintain the common internal peace of the province; great riots have lately arisen therein, armed mobs marching from

place to place, and committing violent outrages and insults on the government with impunity, to the great terror of your Majesty's subjects. And these evils are not likely to receive any remedy here, the continual disputes between the proprietaries and people, and their mutual jealousies and dislikes preventing.

We do, therefore, most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to resume the government of this province, making such compensation to the proprietaries for the same as to your Majesty's wisdom and goodness shall appear just and equitable, and permitting your dutiful subjects therein to enjoy, under your Majesty's more immediate care and protection, the privileges that have been granted to them by and under your royal predecessors.

By order of the House.

## CCLIV.

### REMARKS

ON A PARTICULAR MILITIA BILL REJECTED BY THE PROPRIETOR'S DEPUTY, OR GOVERNOR.

TO THE FREEMEN OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, 28 September, 1764.

GENTLEMEN:

Your desire of knowing how the militia bill came to fail, in the last assembly, shall immediately be complied with.

As the governor pressed hard for a militia law, to secure the internal peace of the province, and the people of this country had not been accustomed to militia service, the House, to make it more generally

agreeable to the freeholders, formed the bill so that they might have some share in the election of the officers; to secure them from having absolute strangers set over them, or persons generally disagreeable.

This was no more than that every person should choose, and recommend to the governor, three persons for each office of captain, lieutenant, and ensign; *out of which three* the governor was to commission *one* that he thought most proper, or which he pleased, to be the officer. And that the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, so commissioned by the governor, should, in their respective regiments, choose and recommend three persons for each office of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major; out of which three the governor was to commission *one*, whichever he pleased, to each of the said offices.

The governor's *amendment* to the bill in this particular was, to strike out wholly this privilege of the people, and to take to himself the sole appointment of all the officers.

The next amendment was, to aggravate and enhance all the fines. A fine that the assembly had made one hundred pounds, and thought heavy enough, the governor required to be three hundred pounds. What they had made fifty pounds, he required to be one hundred and fifty. These were fines on the commissioned officers for disobedience to his commands; but the non-commissioned officers, or common soldiers, whom, for the same offence, the assembly proposed to fine at ten pounds, the governor insisted should be fined fifty pounds.

These fines, and some others to be mentioned hereafter, the assembly thought ruinously high. But when, in a subsequent amendment, the governor would, for offences among the militia, take away the *trial by jury* in the common courts; and required that the trial should be by a court-martial, composed of officers of his own sole appointing, who should have power of sentencing even to death; the House could by no means consent thus to give up their constituents' liberty, estate, and life itself, into the absolute power of a proprietary governor; and so the bill failed.

That you may be assured I do not misrepresent this matter, I shall give you the last-mentioned amendment (so called) at full length: and for the truth and exactness of my copy, I dare appeal to Mr. Secretary Shippen.

The words of the bill, page 43, were: "Every such person so offending, being legally convicted thereof," &c. By the words *legally convicted* was intended a conviction after legal trial, in the common course of the laws of the land. But the governor required this addition immediately to follow the words "convicted thereof," namely, "by a court-martial, shall suffer *death*, or such other punishment as such court, by their sentence or decree, shall think proper to inflict and pronounce. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when and so often as it may be necessary, the governor and commander-in-chief for the time being shall appoint and commissionate,

under the great seal of this province, sixteen commissioned officers in each regiment; with authority and power to them, or any thirteen of them, to hold courts-martial, of whom a field officer shall always be one, and president of said court; and such courts-martial shall and are hereby empowered to administer an oath to any witness, in order to the examination or trial of any of the offences which by this act are made cognizable in such courts, and shall come before them. Provided always, that, in all trials by a court-martial by virtue of this act, every officer present at such trial, before any proceedings be had therein, shall take an *oath* upon the holy Evangelists, before one justice of the peace in the county where such court is held; who are hereby authorized to administer the same, in the following words, that is to say: 'I, A B, do swear that I will duly administer justice according to evidence, and to the directions of an act entitled, *An Act for forming and regulating the militia of the province of Pennsylvania*, without partiality, favor, or affection; and that I will not divulge the sentence of the court, until it shall be approved of by the governor or commander-in-chief of this province for the time being; neither will I, upon any account, at any time whatsoever, disclose or *discover the vote or opinion* of any particular member of the court-martial. So help me God.' And no sentence of death, or other sentence, shall be given against any offender, but by the concurrence of *nine* of the officers so sworn. And no sentence passed against any offender by such court-martial shall be put in execution, until report be made of

the whole proceedings to the governor or commander-in-chief of this province for the time being, and his directions signified thereupon."

It is observable here, that, by the common course of justice, a man is to be tried by a jury of his neighbours and fellows, empanelled by a sheriff, in whose appointment the people have a choice. The prisoner too has a right to challenge twenty of the panel, without giving a reason, and as many more as he can give reasons for challenging; and before he can be convicted, the jury are to be unanimous; they are all to agree that he is guilty, and are therefore all accountable for the verdict. But, by this amendment, the jury (if they may be so called) are all officers of the governor's sole appointing; and not one of them can be challenged; and, though a common militia-man is to be tried, no common militia-man shall be of that jury; and, so far from requiring all to agree, a bare majority shall be sufficient to condemn you. And, lest that majority should be under any check or restraint, from an apprehension of what the world might think or say of the severity or injustice of their sentence, an oath is to be taken, never to discover the vote or opinion of any particular member.

These are some of the chains attempted to be forged for you by the proprietary faction! Who advised the governor is not difficult to know. They are the very men who now clamor at the assembly for a proposal of bringing the trial of a particular murder to this county from another, where it was not thought safe for any man to be either juryman or witness,

and call it disfranchising the people, who are now bawling about the constitution, and pretending vast concern for your liberties. In refusing you the least means of recommending, or expresing your regard for, persons to be placed over you as officers, and who were thus to be made your judges in life and estate, they have not regarded the example of the King, our wise as well as kind master; who, in all his requisitions made to the colonies, of raising troops for their defence, directed, that, "the better to facilitate the important service, the commissions should be given to such as, from their weight and credit with the people, may be best enabled to effectuate the levies." [1] In establishing a militia for the defence of the province, how could the "weight and credit" of men with the people be better discovered, than by the mode that bill directed, namely, by a majority of those that were to be commanded, nominating three for each office to the governor, of which three he might take the one he liked best?

However, the courts-martial being established, and all of us thus put into his Honor's absolute power, the governor goes on to enhance the fines and penalties. Thus, in page 49 of the bill, where the assembly had proposed the fine to be ten shillings, the governor required it to be ten pounds. In page 50, where a fine of five pounds was mentioned, the governor's amendment required it to be made fifty pounds. And, in page 44, where the assembly had said, "shall forfeit and pay any sum, not exceeding five pounds,"

[1] See Secretary of State's Letters in the printed Votes.

the governor's amendment says, "shall suffer *death*, or such other punishment as shall, according to the nature of the offence, be inflicted by the sentence of a court-martial."

The assembly's refusing to admit of these amendments in that bill, is one of their offences against the lord proprietary, for which that faction are now abusing them in both the languages[1] of the province, with all the virulence that reverend malice can dictate; enforced by numberless barefaced falsehoods, that only the most dishonest and base would dare to invent, and none but the most weak and credulous can possibly believe. VERITAS.

## CCLV.

### PREFACE

TO THE SPEECH OF JOSEPH GALLOWAY, ON THE SUBJECT OF A PETITION TO THE KING FOR CHANGING THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA TO A ROYAL GOVERNMENT.[2]

It is not merely because Mr. Dickinson's speech was ushered into the world by a *preface*, that one is made to this of Mr. Galloway. But, as in that preface a number of aspersions were thrown on our assemblies, and their proceedings grossly misrepresented, it was thought necessary to wipe those asper-

[1] That is, the English and German languages, both of which were used in Pennsylvania.—EDITOR.

[2] While the petition to the king for a royal government in Pennsylvania was under discussion in the assembly, Mr. John Dickinson made a speech against it, which was printed in a pamphlet, with a long preface by another hand. Mr. Galloway published a reply, entitled, "The Speech of Joseph Galloway, One of the Members for Philadelphia County, in answer to the Speech of John Dickinson, delivered in the House of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24th, 1764." To this reply was prefixed this Preface, written by Dr. Franklin.—EDITOR.

sions off by some proper animadversions, and, by a true state of facts, to rectify those misrepresentations.

The preface begins with saying, that "Governor Denny (whose administration will never be mentioned but with disgrace in the annals of this province) was induced by considerations, to which the world is now no stranger, to pass sundry acts," &c., thus insinuating that by some unusual base bargain, secretly made but afterwards discovered, he was induced to pass them.

It is fit, therefore, without undertaking to justify all that governor's administration, to show *what* those considerations were. Ever since the revenue of the quit-rents first, and after that the revenue of tavern-licenses, were settled irrevocably on our proprietors and governors, they have looked on those incomes as their proper estate, for which they were under no obligations to the people; and when they afterwards concurred in passing any useful laws, they considered them as so many jobs, for which they ought to be particularly paid. Hence arose the custom of *presents* twice a year to the governors, at the close of each session in which laws were passed, given at the time of passing; they usually amounted to a thousand pounds per annum. But when the governors and assemblies disagreed, so that laws were not passed, the presents were withheld. When a disposition to agree ensued, there sometimes still remained some *diffidence*. The governors would not pass the laws that were wanted, without being sure of the money, even all that they called their arrears; nor the assemblies give the money without being sure of

the laws. Thence the necessity of some private conference, in which mutual assurances of good faith might be received and given, that the transactions should go hand in hand. What name the impartial reader will give to this kind of commerce, I cannot say. To me it appears an extortion of more money from the people, for that to which they had before an undoubted right, both by the constitution and by purchase; but there was no other shop they could go to for the commodity they wanted, and they were obliged to comply. Time established the custom, and made it seem honest; so that our governors, even those of the most undoubted honor, have practised it.

Governor Thomas, after a long misunderstanding with the assembly, went more openly to work with them in managing this commerce, and they with him. The fact is curious, as it stands recorded in the votes of 1742–3. Sundry bills sent up to the governor for his assent had lain long in his hands, without any answer. January 4th, the House "Ordered, That Thomas Leech and Edward Warner wait upon the governor, and acquaint him, that the House had long waited for his result on the bills that lie before him, and desire to know when they may expect it." The gentlemen return and report, "That they waited upon the governor, and delivered the message of the House according to order; and that the governor was pleased to say, 'He had had the bills long under consideration, and waited the result of the House.'" The House well understood this hint; and immedi-

ately resolved into a committee of the whole House, to take what was called *the governor's support* into consideration, in which they made (the minutes say) *some progress*; and the next morning, it appears, that that *progress*, whatever it was, had been communicated to him, for he sent them down this message by his secretary: "Mr. Speaker, The governor commands me to acquaint you that, as he has received assurances of a *good disposition* in the House, he thinks it incumbent on him to show *the like* on his part; and therefore sends down the bills, which lay before him, without any amendment."

As this message only showed a good disposition, but contained no promise to pass the bills, the House seem to have had their doubts; and, therefore, February 2d, when they came to resolve, on the report of the grand committee, to give the money, they guarded their resolves very cautiously, to wit: "Resolved, That, *on the passage* of such bills as now lie before the governor (the naturalization bill, and such other bills as may be presented to him during this sitting), there be *paid* him the sum of *five hundred pounds.* Resolved also, that, on the passage of such bills as now lie before the governor (the naturalization bill, and such other bills as may be presented to him this sitting), there be paid to the governor the further sum of *one thousand pounds*, for the current year's support; and that orders be drawn on the treasurer and trustees of the loan-office, pursuant to these resolves." The orders were accordingly drawn; with which being acquainted, he appointed a time to pass the bills;

which was done with one hand, while he received the orders in the other; and then, with the utmost politeness he thanked the House for the fifteen hundred pounds, as if it had been a pure free gift, and a mere mark of their respect and affection. "I thank you, Gentlemen," says he, "for this instance of *your regard*, which I am the more pleased with, as it gives an agreeable prospect of *future harmony* between me and the representatives of the people."

This, reader, is an exact counterpart of the transaction with Governor Denny; except that Denny sent word to the House, that he would pass the bills *before* they voted the support. And yet *here* was no proprietary clamor about bribery, &c. And why so? Why, at that time, the proprietary family, by virtue of a *secret bond* they had obtained of the governor at his appointment, were to *share with* him the sums so obtained of the people.

This reservation of the proprietaries they were at that time a little ashamed of, and therefore such bonds were then to be secrets. But as in every kind of sinning frequent repetition lessens shame and increases boldness, we find the proprietaries ten years afterwards openly insisting on these advantages to themselves, *over and above* what was paid to their deputy; "Wherefore," say they,[1] "on this occasion it is necessary that we inform the people, through yourselves, their representatives, that, as by the constitution our consent is necessary to their laws, at the same time that they have an *undoubted right* to such

[1] That is, to the assembly.—B. V.

as are necessary for the defence and real service of the country, so it will tend the better to *facilitate* the several matters, which must be transacted with us, for their representatives to show a *regard to us* and our *interest.*"

This was in their answer to the representation of the assembly (*Votes*, December, 1754, p. 48) on the justice of their contributing to Indian expenses, which they had refused. And on this clause the committee make the following remark: "They tell us their consent is necessary to our laws, and that it will tend the better to facilitate the matters which must be transacted with them for the representatives to show a regard to their *interest;* that is (as we understand it), though the proprietaries have a deputy here, supported by the province, who is, or ought to be, fully empowered to pass all laws necessary for the service of the country, yet, before we can obtain such laws, we must facilitate their passage by paying money for the proprietaries, which they ought to pay, or in some shape make it their particular interest to pass them. We hope, however, that if this practice has ever been begun it will never be continued in this province, and that since, as this very paragraph allows, we have an undoubted right to such laws, we shall always be able to obtain them from the goodness of our sovereign without going to market for them to a subject." Time has shown that those hopes were vain; they have been obliged to go to that market ever since, directly or indirectly, or go without their laws. The practice has continued, and will continue, as long as

the proprietary government subsists, intervening between the crown and the people.

Do not, my courteous reader, take pet at our proprietary constitution for these our bargain and sale proceedings in legislation. It is a happy country where justice, and what was your own before, can be had for ready money. It is another addition to the value of money, and, of course, another spur to industry. Every land is not so blessed. There are countries where the princely proprietor claims to be lord of all property, where what is your own shall not only be wrested from you, but the money you give to have it restored shall be kept with it, and your offering so much, being a sign of your being too rich, you shall be plundered of every thing that remained. These times are not come here yet. Your present proprietors have never been more reasonable hitherto than barely to insist on your fighting in defence of *their* property, and paying the expense yourselves; or if their estates must, ah! *must*, be taxed towards it, that the *best* of their lands shall be taxed no higher than the *worst* of yours.

Pardon this digression, and I return to Governor Denny. But first let me do Governor Hamilton the justice to observe that whether from the uprightness of his own disposition, or from the odious light the practice had been set in on Denny's account, or from both, he did not attempt these bargains, but passed such laws as he thought fit to pass without any *previous* stipulation of pay for them. But then, when he saw the assembly tardy in the payment he expected,

and yet calling upon him still to pass more laws, he openly put them in mind of the money as a *debt* due to him from custom. "In the course of the present year," says he, in his message of July 8th, 1763, "a great deal of public business hath been transacted by me, and I believe as many useful laws enacted as by any of my predecessors in the same space of time; yet I have not understood that any allowance hath hitherto been made to me for my support, as hath been customary in this province."

The House, having then some bills in hand, took the matter into immediate consideration, and voted him five hundred pounds, for which an order or certificate was accordingly drawn; and on the same day the Speaker, after the House had been with the governor, reported, "That his Honor had been pleased to give his assent to the bills, by enacting the same into laws. And Mr. Speaker farther reported, that he had then, in behalf of the House, presented their certificate of five hundred pounds to the Governor; who was pleased to say, he was obliged to the House for the same." Thus we see the practice of purchasing and paying for laws is interwoven with our proprietary constitution, used in the best times, and under the best governors. And yet, alas, poor assembly! how will you steer your brittle bark between these rocks? If you pay *ready money* for your laws, and those laws are not liked by the proprietaries, you are charged with bribery and corruption; if you *wait a while* before you pay, you are accused of detaining the governor's customary right, and dunned as a neg-

ligent or dishonest debtor, that refuses to discharge a just debt.

But Governor Denny's case, I shall be told, differs from all these; for the acts he was induced to pass were, as the Prefacer tells us, "contrary to his duty, and to every tie of honor and justice." Such is the imperfection of our language, and perhaps of all other languages, that, notwithstanding we are furnished with dictionaries innumerable, we cannot precisely know the import of words, unless we know of what party the man is that uses them. In the mouth of an assemblyman, or true Pennsylvanian, "contrary to his duty and to every tie of honor and justice," would mean, the governor's long refusal to pass laws, however just and necessary, for taxing the proprietary estate; a refusal contrary to the trust reposed in the lieutenant-governor by the royal charter; to the rights of the people, whose welfare it was his duty to promote; and to the nature of the contract made between the governor and the governed, when the quit-rents and license fees were established, which confirmed what the proprietaries call our "undoubted right" to necessary laws. But, in the mouth of the proprietaries, or their creatures, "contrary to his duty, and to every tie of justice and honor," means, his passing laws contrary to proprietary instructions and contrary to the bonds he had previously given to observe those instructions; instructions, however, that were unjust and unconstitutional; and bonds, that were illegal and void from the beginning.

Much has been said of the wickedness of Gov-

ernor Denny in passing, and the assembly in prevailing with him to pass, those acts. By the Prefacer's account of them, you would think that the laws so obtained were all bad; for he speaks of but seven, of which six, he says, were repealed, and the seventh reported to be "fundamentally *wrong* and *unjust*," and "ought to be repealed, unless six certain amendments were made therein."[1] Whereas, in fact, there were nineteen of them; and several of those must have been good laws, for even the proprietaries did not object to them. Of the eleven that they opposed, only six were repealed; so that it seems these good gentlemen may themselves be sometimes as wrong in opposing, as the assembly in enacting, laws. But the words "fundamentally wrong and unjust" are the great fund of triumph to the proprietaries and their partisans. These their subsequent governors have unmercifully dinned in the ears of the assembly on all occasions ever since; for they make a part of near a dozen of their messages. They have rung the changes on those words, till they have worked them up to say that the law was fundamentally wrong and unjust in six several articles; (*Governor's Message*, May 17th, 1764,) instead of "ought to be repealed, unless six alterations or amendments could be made therein." A law unjust in six several articles must be an unjust law indeed. Let us therefore, once for all, examine this unjust law, article by article, in order to see whether our assem-

[1] The act is entitled, "An Act for granting to his Majesty the sum of one hundred thousand pounds; striking the same in bills of credit, and sinking the bills by a tax on all estates real and personal."

blies have been such villains as they have been represented.

The first particular in which their lordships proposed the act should be amended was, "That the real estates to be taxed be *defined with precision;* so as not to include the unsurveyed waste land belonging to the proprietaries." This was, at most, but an obscurity to be cleared up; and, though the law might well appear to their lordships uncertain in that particular, with us, who better know our own customs, and that the proprietaries' waste unsurveyed land was never here considered among estates real, subject to taxation; there was not the least doubt or supposition that such lands were included in the words "all estates real and personal." The agents, therefore,[1] knowing that the assembly had no intention to tax those lands, might well suppose that they would readily agree to remove the obscurity.

Before we go farther, let it be observed, that the main design of the proprietaries in opposing this act was, to *prevent their estates being taxed at all.* But, as they knew that the doctrine of the proprietary exemption, which they had endeavored to enforce here, could not be supported there, they bent their whole strength against the act on *other* principles to procure its repeal; pretending great willingness to submit to an equitable tax, but that the assembly (out of mere malice, because they had conscientiously quitted Quakerism for the church) were wickedly determined

[1] The agents in England, whither the laws were sent to receive the king's assent. Franklin was one of the agents in that country at the time the laws in question were sent out for approval.—EDITOR.

to ruin them, to tax all their unsurveyed wilderness lands, and at the highest rates; and by that means exempt themselves and the people, and throw the whole burden of the war on the proprietary family.

How foreign these charges were from the truth, need not be told to any man in Pennsylvania. And, as the proprietors knew, that the hundred thousand pounds of paper money, struck for the defence of *their* enormous estates, with others, was actually issued, spread through the country, and in the hands of thousands of poor people, who had given their labor for it, how base, cruel, and inhuman it was to endeavor, by a repeal of the act, to strike the money dead in those hands at one blow, and reduce it all to waste paper; to the utter confusion of all trade and dealings, and the ruin of multitudes, merely to avoid paying their own just tax;—words may be wanting to express, but minds will easily conceive, and never without abhorrence.

The second amendment proposed by their lordships was: "That the located uncultivated lands belonging to the proprietaries shall not be assessed higher than the *lowest* rate at which any located uncultivated lands belonging to the inhabitants shall be assessed." Had there been any provision in the act, that the proprietaries' lands and those of the people, of the same value, should be taxed differently, the one high and the other low, the act might well have been called in this particular "fundamentally wrong and unjust." But, as there is no such clause, this cannot be one of the particulars on which the charge is founded; but, like

the first, is merely a requisition to make the act *clear*; by express directions therein, that the proprietaries' estate should not be, as they pretended to believe it would be, taxed higher in proportion to its value than the estates of others. As to their present claim, founded on that article, "that the best and most valuable of their lands should be taxed no higher than the worst and least valuable of the people's," it was not *then* thought of; they made no such demand; nor did any one dream that so iniquitous a claim would ever be made by men who had the least pretence to the characters of honorable and honest.

The third particular was: "That all lands, not granted by the proprietaries within boroughs and towns, be deemed located uncultivated lands, and rated accordingly, and not as lots." The clause in the act that this relates to is: "And whereas many valuable lots of ground within the city of Philadelphia and the several boroughs and towns within this province remain unimproved; be it enacted, &c., that *all* such unimproved lots of ground within the city and boroughs aforesaid shall be rated and assessed according to their situation and value, for and towards raising the money hereby granted." The reader will observe, that the word is, *all* unimproved lots; and that *all* comprehends the lots belonging to the people, as well as those of the proprietary. There were many of the former; and a number belonging even to members of the then assembly; and, considering the value, the tax must be proportionably as grievous to them, as the proprietary's to him.

Is there among us a single man, even a proprietary relation, officer, or dependant, so insensible of the differences of right and wrong, and so confused in his notions of just and unjust, as to think and say, that the act in this particular was "fundamentally wrong and unjust"? I believe not one. What, then, could their lordships mean by the proposed amendment? Their meaning is easily explained. The proprietaries have considerable tracts of land within the bounds of boroughs and towns, that have not yet been divided into lots. They pretended to believe, that by virtue of this clause an imaginary division would be made of those lands into lots, and an extravagant value set on such imaginary lots, greatly to their prejudice. It was answered, that no such thing was intended by the act; and that by "lots" was meant only such ground as had been surveyed and divided into lots, and not the open undivided lands. If this only is intended, say their lordships, then let the act be amended, so as clearly to express what is intended. This is the full amount of the third particular. How the act was understood here, is well known by the execution of it, before the dispute came on in England, and therefore before their lordships' opinion on the point could be given; of which full proof shall presently be made. In the meantime it appears, that the act was not on this account "fundamentally wrong and unjust."

The fourth particular is: "That the governor's consent and approbation be made necessary to every issue and application of the money, to be raised by virtue of such act." The assembly intended this,

and thought they had done it in the act. The words of the clause being: "That [the commissioners named], or the major part of them, or of the survivors of them, *with the consent* or approbation of the governor or commander-in-chief of this province for the time being, shall order and appoint *the dispositions of the moneys* arising by virtue of this act, for and towards paying and clothing two thousand seven hundred effective men," &c. It was understood here, that as the power of disposing was expressly to be with the consent and approbation of the governor, the commissioners had no power to dispose of the money without that approbation. But their lordships, jealous (as their station requires) of this prerogative of the crown, and being better acquainted with the force and weakness of law expression, did not think the clause explicit enough, unless the words "*and not otherwise*" were added, or some other words equivalent. This particular, therefore, was no more than another requisition of greater clearness and precision, and by no means a foundation for the charge of "fundamentally wrong and unjust."

The fifth particular was: "That provincial commissioners be named, to hear and determine appeals, brought on the part of the inhabitants, as well as the proprietaries." There was already subsisting a provision for the appointment of county commissioners of appeal, by whom the act might be, and actually has been (as we shall presently show), justly and impartially executed with regard to the proprietaries; but provincial commissioners appointed in the act it

was thought might be of use in regulating and equalizing the modes of assessment of different counties where they were unequal, and, by affording a second appeal, tend more to the satisfaction both of the proprietaries and the people. This particular was, therefore, a mere proposed improvement of the act; which could not be, and was not, in this respect, denominated "fundamentally wrong and unjust."

We have now gone through five of the six proposed amendments, without discovering any thing on which that censure could be founded; but the sixth remains, which points at a part of the act wherein we must candidly acknowledge there is something that, in their lordships' view of it, must justify their judgment. The words of the sixth article are: "That the payments by the tenants to the proprietaries of their rents shall be according to the term of their respective grants; as if such act had never been passed." This relates to that clause of the act by which the paper money was made a legal tender in "discharge of all manner of debts, rents, sum and sums of money whatsoever, &c., at the rates ascertained in the act of Parliament made in the sixth of Queen Anne."

From the great injustice frequently done to creditors, and complained of from the colonies, by the vast depreciation of paper bills, it was become a general fixed principle with the ministry, that such bills (whose value though fixed in the act, could not be kept fixed by the act) ought not to be made a legal tender in any colony at those rates. The Par-

liament had before passed an act to take that tender away in the four New England colonies, and have since made the act general. This was what their lordships would therefore have proposed for the amendment. But, it being represented that the chief support of the credit of the bills was the legal tender, and that without it they would become of no value, it was allowed generally to remain, with an exception to the proprietaries' rents, where there was a special contract for payment in another coin. It cannot be denied but that this was doing justice to the proprietaries; and that had the requisition been in favor of *all other* creditors also, the justice had been equal, as being general. We do not therefore presume to impeach their lordships' judgment, that the act, as it enforced the acceptance of bills for money at a value which they had only nominally, and not really, was in that respect "fundamentally wrong and unjust."

And yet we believe the reader will not think the assembly so much to blame, when he considers that the making paper bills a legal tender had been the universal mode in America for more than threescore years; that there was scarce a colony that had not practised that mode more or less; that it had always been thought absolutely necessary, in order to give the bills a credit, and thereby obtain from them the uses of money; that the inconveniences were therefore submitted to, for the sake of the greater conveniences; that acts innumerable of the like kind had been approved by the crown; and that, if the assem-

bly made the bills a legal tender at those rates to the proprietaries, they made them also a legal tender to themselves, and all their constituents, many of whom might suffer in their rents, &c., as much in proportion to their estates as the proprietaries.

But, if he cannot on these considerations quite excuse the assembly, what will he think of those honorable proprietaries, who, when paper money was issued in their colony for the *common defence* of their vast estates with those of the people, and who must therefore reap at least equal advantages from those bills with the people, could nevertheless wish to be exempted from their share of the unavoidable disadvantages. Is there upon earth a man besides, with any conception of what is honest, with any notion of honor, with the least tincture in his veins of the gentleman, but would have blushed at the thought, but would have rejected with disdain such undue preference, if it had been offered him? Much less would he have struggled for it, moved heaven and earth to obtain it, resolved to ruin thousands of his tenants by a repeal of the act, rather than miss of it,[1] and enforce it afterwards by an audaciously wicked instruction; forbidding aids to his King, and exposing the province to destruction, unless it was complied with. And yet, these are honorable men.[2]

[1] This would have been done, and the money all sunk in the hands of the people, if the agents, Benjamin Franklin and Robert Charles, had not interposed, and voluntarily, without authority from the assembly so to do, but at their own risk, undertaken that those amendments should be made, or that they themselves would indemnify the proprietaries from any damages they might sustain for want thereof. An action which, as the Prefacer says in another case, "posterity perhaps may find a name for."

[2] It is not easy to guess from what source our proprietaries have drawn

Here, then, we have had a full view of the assembly's injustice, about which there has been so much insolent triumph. But let the proprietaries and their discreet deputies hereafter recollect and remember, that the same august tribunal, which censured some of the modes and circumstances of that act, did at the same time establish and confirm the grand principle of the act, namely: "That the proprietary estate ought, with other estates, to be taxed"; and thereby did, in effect, determine and pronounce, that the opposition so long made in various shapes to that just principle, by the proprietaries, was "fundamentally *wrong* and *unjust*." An injustice they were not, like the assembly, under any necessity of committing for the public good; or any other necessity, but what was imposed on them by those base passions that act the tyrant in bad minds—their selfishness, their pride, and their avarice.

I have frequently mentioned the equitable intentions of the House in those parts of the act that were supposed obscure, and how they were understood here. A clear proof thereof is found, as I have already said, in the actual execution of the act; in the execution of it before the contest about it in England, and therefore before their lordships' objections to it had a being. When the report came over, and was laid before the House, one year's tax had been levied,

their principles. Those who study law and justice, as a science, have established it a maxim in equity, "Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus." And so consistent is this with the common sense of mankind, that even our lowest untaught cobblers and porters feel the force of it in their own maxim (which *they* are honest enough never to dispute), "Touch pot, touch penny."

and the assembly, conscious that no injustice had been intended to the proprietaries, and willing to rectify it if any should appear, appointed a committee of members from the several counties to examine into the state of the proprietaries' taxes throughout the province, and nominated on that committee a gentleman of known attachment to the proprietaries, and their chief justice, Mr. Allen, to the end that the strictest inquiry might be made. Their report was as follows:

"We, the committee appointed to inquire into and consider the state of the proprietary taxation through the several counties, and report the same to the House, have, in pursuance of the said appointment, carefully examined the returns of property, and compared them with the respective assessments thereon made through the whole province, and find—

"First, that no part of the unsurveyed waste lands belonging to the proprietaries, have, in any instance, been included in the estates taxed.

"Secondly, that some of the located uncultivated lands belonging to the proprietaries, in several counties, remain unassessed; and are not in any county assessed higher than the lands under like circumstances belonging to the inhabitants.

"Thirdly, that all lands not granted by the proprietaries, within boroughs and towns, remain untaxed, excepting in a few instances, and in those they are rated as low as the lands which are granted in the said boroughs and towns.

"The whole of the proprietary tax of eighteen pence in the pound, amounts to £566 4*s.* 10*d.* And the sum of the tax on the inhabitants for the same year amounts, through the several counties, to £27,103 12*s.* 8*d.* And it is the opinion of your committee that there has not been any injustice done to the proprietaries, or attempts made to rate or assess any

part of their estates higher than the estates of the like kind belonging to the inhabitants are rated and assessed; but, on the contrary, we find that their estates are rated, in many instances, below others.

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|---|---|
| "Thomas Leech, | George Ashbridge, |
| Joseph Fox, | Emanuel Carpenter, |
| Samuel Rhoads, | John Blackburn, |
| Abraham Chapman, | William Allen." |

The House communicated this report to Governor Hamilton, when he afterwards pressed them to make the stipulated act of amendment; acquainting him, at the same time, that, as in the execution of the act no injustice had hitherto been done to the proprietary, so, by a yearly inspection of the assessments, they would take care that none should be done him; for that, if any should appear, or the governor could at any time point out to them any that had been done, they would immediately rectify it; and therefore, as the act was shortly to expire, they did not think the amendments necessary. Thus that matter ended during *that* administration.

And had his successor, Governor Penn, permitted it still to sleep, we are of opinion it had been more to the honor of the family, and of his own discretion. But he was pleased to found upon it a *claim* manifestly unjust, and which he was totally destitute of reason to support. A claim that the proprietaries' best and most valuable located uncultivated lands should be taxed *no higher* than the worst and least valuable of those belonging to the inhabitants; to enforce which, as he thought the words of one of the

stipulations seemed to give some countenance to it, he insisted on using those very words as sacred; from which he could, "neither in decency or in duty," deviate; though he had agreed to deviate from words in the same report, and therefore equally sacred in every other instance. A conduct which will (as the Prefacer says in Governor Denny's case) for ever disgrace the annals of *his* administration.[1]

Never did any administration open with a more promising prospect than this of Governor Penn. He assured the people in his first speeches of the proprietaries' paternal regard for them, and their sincere dispositions to do every thing that might promote their happiness. As the proprietaries had been pleased to appoint a son of the family to the government, it was thought not unlikely that there might be something in these professions; for that they would probably choose to have his administration made easy and agreeable, and to that end might think it prudent to withdraw those harsh, disagreeable, and unjust instructions with which most of his predecessors had been hampered.

The assembly, therefore, believed fully, and rejoiced sincerely. They showed the new governor every mark of respect and regard that was in their power. They readily and cheerfully went into every thing he recommended to them. And when he and his authority were insulted and endangered by a lawless, murdering mob, they and their friends took arms

[1] For a fuller account of this dispute the reader is referred to the newspapers, and votes of assembly.

at his call, and formed themselves round him for his defence and the support of his government.

But when it was found that those mischievous instructions still subsisted, and were even farther extended; when the governor began, unprovoked, to send the House affronting messages, seizing every imaginable occasion of reflecting on their conduct; when every other symptom appeared of fixed, deep-rooted, family malice, which could but a little while bear the unnatural covering that had been thrown over it, what wonder is it if all the old wounds broke out and bled afresh; if all the old grievances, still unredressed, were recollected; if despair succeeded of seeing any peace with a family that could make such returns to all their overtures of kindness. And when, in the very proprietary council, composed of staunch friends of the family, and chosen for their attachment to it, it was observed that the *old men* (1 Kings, ch. xii.) withdrew themselves, finding their opinion slighted, and that all measures were taken by the advice of two or three *young men* (one of whom too denies his share in them); is it any wonder, since like causes produce like effects, if the assembly, notwithstanding all their veneration for the first proprietor, should say, with the children of Israel under the same circumstances: "What portion have we in David, or inheritance in the son of Jesse? To your tents, O Israel!"

Under these circumstances, and a conviction, that, while so many natural sources of difference subsisted between proprietaries and people, no harmony in gov-

ernment could long subsist (without which neither the commands of the crown could be executed, nor the public good promoted), the House resumed the consideration of a measure that had often been proposed in former assemblies; a measure that every proprietary province in America had, from the same causes, found themselves obliged to take, and had actually taken, or were about to take; and a measure that had happily succeeded wherever it was taken; I mean the recourse to an immediate *royal government.*

They, therefore, after a thorough debate, and making no less than twenty-five unanimous resolves, expressing the many grievances this province had long labored under, through the proprietary government, came to the following resolution, viz.: "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that this House will adjourn, in order to consult their constituents, whether an humble address should be drawn up and transmitted to his Majesty; praying that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of this province under his immediate protection and government; by completing the agreement heretofore made with the first proprietary for the sale of the government to the crown, or otherwise, as to his wisdom and goodness shall seem meet." [1]

This they ordered to be made public, and it was published accordingly in all the newspapers. The

[1] These words, "by completing the agreement," &c., are omitted by the honest Prefacer, in his account of the resolve, that they might not interfere with his insinuation of the measure's being impracticable; "Have the proprietors, by any act of theirs, forfeited the least title of what was granted them by his Majesty's royal ancestors? Or can they be *deprived* of their charter rights without their consent," &c., sensible that these questions are impertinent, if those rights are already sold?

House then adjourned for no less than seven weeks, to give their constituents time to consider the matter, and themselves an opportunity of taking their opinion and advice. Could any thing be more deliberate, more fair and open, or more respectful to the people that chose them? During this recess, the people in many places held little meetings with each other; the result of which was, that they would manifest their sentiments to their representatives, by petitioning the crown directly of themselves, and requesting the assembly to transmit and support those petitions. At the next meeting many of these petitions were delivered to the House with that request; they were signed by a very great number[1] of the most substantial inhabitants; and not the least intimation was received by the assembly from any other of their constituents, that the method was disapproved; except in a petition from an obscure township in Lancaster

[1] The Prefacer, with great art, endeavours to represent this number as insignificant. He says the petitioners were but three thousand five hundred, and that the province contains near three hundred thousand *souls*. His reader is to imagine that *two hundred and ninety-six thousand five hundred* of them were applied to, and refused to sign it. The truth is, that his number of souls is vastly exaggerated. The dwelling-houses in the province, in 1752, did not exceed twenty thousand. Political arithmeticians reckon generally but five souls to a house, one house with another; and, therefore, allowing for houses since built, there are not probably more than a hundred and ten thousand souls in the province; that of these, scarce twenty-two thousand could with any propriety be petitioners. And, considering the scattered settlement of the province, the general inattention of mankind, especially in new countries, to public affairs, and the indefatigable pains taken by proprietaries' new allies, the Presbyterian clergy of Philadelphia (who wrote circular letters to every congregation in the county, to deter them from petitioning, by dutiful intimations, that if we were reduced to a royal government, it would be the "ruin of the province"), it is a wonder the number (near a sixth part) was so great as it was. But if there had been no such petitions, it would not have been material to the point. The assembly went upon another foundation. They had adjourned to consult their constituents; they returned satisfied that the measure was agreeable to them, and *nothing appeared to the contrary*.

county, to which there were about forty names indeed, but all evidently signed by three hands only.

What could the assembly infer from the expressed willingness of a part, and silence of the rest, but that the measure was universally agreeable? They accordingly resumed the consideration of it; and, though a small, very small opposition then appeared to it in the House, yet, as even that was founded, not on the impropriety of the thing, but on the supposed unsuitableness of the time or the manner, and a majority of nine tenths being still for it, a petition was drawn, agreeable to the former resolve, and ordered to be transmitted to his Majesty.

But the Prefacer tell us, that these petitioners for a change were a "number of rash, ignorant, and inconsiderate people," and generally of a low rank. To be sure they were not of the proprietary officers, dependants, or expectants, and those are chiefly the people of high rank among us; but they were otherwise generally men of the best estates in the province, and men of reputation. The assembly, who come from all parts of the country, and therefore may be supposed to know them, at least as well as the Prefacer, have given that testimony of them. But what is the testimony of the assembly, who, in his opinion are equally rash, ignorant, and inconsiderate with the petitioners? And, if his judgment is right, how imprudently and contrary to their charter have his *three hundred thousand souls* acted in their elections of assembly men, these twenty years past; for the charter

requires them to choose men of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability.

But these are qualities engrossed it seems by the proprietary party. For, they say: "The *wiser* and *better* part of the province had far different notions of this measure; they considered that the moment they put their hands to these petitions they might he surrendering up their birthright." I felicitate them on the honor they have thus bestowed upon themselves; on the sincere compliments thus given and accepted; and on their having with such noble freedom discarded the snivelling pretence to modesty, couched in that threadbare form of words, "Though we say it, that should not say it." But is it not surprising that, during the seven weeks' recess of the assembly, expressly to consult their constituents on the expediency of this measure, and during the fourteen days the House sat deliberating on it after they met again, these their wisdoms and betternesses should never be so kind as to communicate the least scrap of their prudence, their knowledge, or their consideration to their rash, ignorant, and inconsiderate representatives? Wisdom in the mind is not like money in the purse, diminished by communication to others; they might have lighted up our farthing candles for us, without lessening the blaze of their own flambeaux. But they suffered our representatives to go on in the dark till the fatal deed was done; and the petition sent to the King, praying him to take the government of this province into his immediate care; whereby, if it succeeds, "our glorious plan of public liberty and charter

of privileges is to be bartered away," and we are to be made slaves for ever. Cruel parsimony! to refuse the charity of a little understanding, when God had given you so much, and the assembly begged it as an alms. O that you had but for once remembered and observed the counsel of that wise poet, Pope, where he says,

> "Be niggards of advice on no pretence;
> For the worst avarice is that of sense."

In the constitution of our government and in that of one more, there still remains a particular thing that none of the other American governments have—to wit, the appointment of a governor by the proprietors, instead of an appointment by the crown. This particular in government has been found inconvenient, attended with contentions and confusions wherever it existed, and has therefore been gradually taken away from colony after colony, and everywhere greatly to the satisfaction and happiness of the people.

Our wise first proprietor and founder was fully sensible of this; and being desirous of leaving his people happy, and preventing the mischiefs that he foresaw must in time arise from that circumstance, if it was continued; he determined to take it away, if possible, during his own lifetime. They accordingly entered into a contract for the sale of the proprietary right of government to the crown, and annually received a sum in part of the consideration. As he found himself likely to die before that contract (and with it his plan for the happiness of his people) could be completed, he carefully made it part of his last will and

testament, devising the right of the government to two noble lords, in trust, that they should release it to the crown. Unfortunately for us, this has never yet been done. And this is merely what the assembly now desire to have done.

Surely he that formed our constitution, must have understood it. If he had imagined, that all our privileges depended on the proprietary government, will any one suppose that he would himself have meditated the change; that he would have taken such effectual measures as he thought them, to bring it about speedily, whether he should live or die? Will any of those who now extol him so highly, charge him at the same time with the baseness of endeavouring thus to defraud his people of all the liberties and privileges he had promised them, and by the most solemn charters and grants assured to them, when he engaged them to assist him in the settlement of his province? Surely none can be so inconsistent. And yet this proprietary right of governing or appointing a governor has all of a sudden changed its nature; and the preservation of it become of so much importance to the welfare of the province, that the assembly's only petitioning to have their venerable founder's will executed, and the contract he entered into for the good of his people completed, is styled an "attempt to violate the constitution for which our fathers planted a wilderness; to barter away our glorious plan of public liberty and charter privileges; a risking of the whole constitution; an offering up our whole charter rights; a wanton sporting with things sacred," &c.

Pleasant surely it is to hear the proprietary partisans, of all men, brawling for the constitution, and affecting a terrible concern for our liberties and privileges. They, who have been these twenty years cursing our constitution, declaring that it was no constitution, or worse than none; and that things could never be well with us till it was new modelled, and made exactly conformable to the British constitution; they who have treated our distinguishing privileges as so many illegalities and absurdities; who have solemnly declared in print, that, though such privileges might be proper in the infancy of a colony to encourage its settlement, they became unfit for it in its grown state, and ought to be taken away; they who, by numberless falsehoods, propagated with infinite industry in the mother country, attempted to procure an act of Parliament for the actual depriving a very great part of the people of their privileges; they, too, who have already deprived the whole people of some of their most important rights, and are daily endeavouring to deprive them of the rest; are these become patriots and advocates of our constitution? Wonderful change! Astonishing conversion! Will the wolves then protect the sheep, if they can but persuade them to give up their dogs? Yes; the assembly would destroy all their own rights and those of the people, and the proprietary partisans are become the champions for liberty. Let those who have faith now make use of it; for, if it is rightly defined "the evidence of things not seen," certainly never was there more occasion for

such evidence, the case being totally destitute of all other.

It has been long observed that men are, with that party, angels or demons, just as they happen to concur with or oppose their measures. And I mention it for the comfort of *old sinners*, that in politics, as well as in religion, repentance and amendment, though late, shall obtain forgiveness and procure favor. Witness the late Speaker, Mr. Norris; a steady and constant opposer of all the proprietary encroachments, and whom, for thirty years past, they have been therefore continually abusing, allowing him no one virtue or good quality whatsoever; but now, as he showed some unwillingness to engage in this present application to the crown, he is become all at once the "faithful servant." But let me look at the text, to avoid mistakes; and, indeed, I was mistaken; I thought it had been "faithful servant of the public," but I find it is only "of the House." Well chosen, that expression, and prudently guarded. The former, from a proprietary pen, would have been praise too much; only for disapproving the time of the application. Could you, much respected Sir, go but a little farther, and disapprove the application itself; could you but say the proprietary government is a good one, and ought to be continued; then might all your political offences be done away, and your scarlet sins become as snow and wool; then might you end your course with (proprietary) honor. P—— should preach your funeral sermon, and S——, the poisoner of other characters, embalm your memory. But those

honors you will never receive; for, with returning health and strength, you will be found in your old post, firm for your country.

There is encouragement too for *young sinners.* Mr. Dickinson, whose speech our Prefacer has introduced to the world (though long hated by some, and disregarded by the rest, of the proprietary faction), is at once, for the same reason as in Mr. Norris's case, become a sage in the law, and an oracle in matters relating to our constitution. I shall not endeavour to pluck so much as a leaf from these the young gentleman's laurels. I would only advise him carefully to preserve the panegyrics with which they have adorned him; in time they may serve to console him, by balancing the calumny they shall load him with, when he does not go through with them in all their measures. He will not probably do the one, and they will then assuredly do the other. There are mouths that can blow hot as well as cold, and blast on your brows the bays their hands have placed there. *Experto crede Roberto.* Let but the proprietary favor withdraw its shine for a moment; and that "great number of the *principal gentlemen* of Philadelphia," who applied to you for the copy of your speech, shall immediately despise and desert you.

"Those principal gentlemen!" what a pity it is that their names were not given us in the Preface, together with their admirable letter. We should then have known where to run for advice on all occasions. We should have known whom to choose for our future representatives; for undoubtedly these were

they that are elsewhere called "the *wiser* and *better* part of the province." None but wisdoms could have known beforehand that a speech which they never heard, and a copy of which they had never seen, but were then requesting to see, was "a spirited defence," and "of our charter privileges"; and that "the publication of it would be of great utility, and give general satisfaction." No inferior sagacity could discover, that the appointment of a governor by the proprietor was one of our "charter privileges"; and that those who opposed the application for a royal government were therefore patriot members appearing on the side of our privileges and our charter.

Utterly to confound the assembly, and show the excellence of proprietary government, the Prefacer has extracted from their own votes the praises they have from time to time bestowed on the first proprietor, in their addresses to his sons. And, though addresses are not generally the best repositories of historical truth, we must not in this instance deny their authority.[1]

That these encomiums on the father, though sincere, have occurred so frequently, was owing, how-

[1] In the preface to Dickinson's speech, the following character of William Penn was inserted, every phrase in which was taken, as the writer said, from the minutes of the assembly.—EDITOR.

"WILLIAM PENN,
A man of principles truly humane,
An advocate for
Religion and Liberty,
Possessing a noble spirit,
That exerted itself
For the good of mankind,
Was
The great and worthy founder
Of
Pennsylvania.
To its inhabitants, by Charter,
He granted and confirmed
Many singular Privileges and Immunities,
Civil and religious;
Which he continually studied
To preserve and defend for them,
Nobly declaring,
That they had not followed him so far
To lose a single title
Of the Great Charter
To which all Englishmen were born!
For these services,
Great have been the acknowledgments
Deservedly paid to his merit;
And his memory
Is dear to his people,
Who have repeatedly confessed,
That,
Next to Divine Providence,
Their happiness, prosperity, and increase
Are owing
To his wise conduct and singular goodness,
Which deserve ever to be remembered,
With
Gratitude and Affection,
By Pennsylvanians."

ever, to two causes: first, a vain hope the assemblies' entertained, that the father's example, and the honors done his character, might influence the conduct of the sons; secondly, for that, in attempting to compliment the sons on their own merits, there was always found an extreme scarcity of matter. Hence, *the father, the honored and honorable father*, was so often repeated, that the sons themselves grew sick of it, and have been heard to say to each other with disgust, when told that A, B, and C were come to wait upon them with addresses on some public occasion, "*Then I suppose we shall hear more about our father.*" So that, let me tell the Prefacer, who perhaps was unacquainted with this anecdote, that if he hoped to curry more favor with the family, by the inscription he has framed for that great man's monument, he may find himself mistaken; for there is too much in it of *our father.*

If, therefore, he would erect a monument to the sons, the votes of the assembly, which are of such credit with him, will furnish him with ample materials for his inscription.

To save him trouble I will essay a sketch for him, in the lapidary style, though mostly in the expressions, and everywhere in the sense and spirit, of the assembly's resolves and messages.

Be this a Memorial
Of T——— and R——— P——,
P——— of P———,[1]
Who, with estates immense,
Almost beyond computation,
When their own province,

[1] That is, Thomas and Richard Penn, Proprietors of Pennsylvania.—EDITOR.

And the whole British empire,
Were engaged in a bloody and most expensive war,
Begun for the defence of those estates,
Could yet meanly desire
To have those very estates
Totally or partially
Exempted from taxation,
While their fellow-subjects all around them,
Groaned
Under the universal burden.
To gain this point,
They refused the necessary laws
For the defence of their people,
And suffered their colony to welter in its blood,
Rather than abate in the least
Of these their dishonest pretensions.
The privileges granted by their father,
Wisely and benevolently
To encourage the first settlers of the province,
They,
Foolishly and cruelly,
Taking advantage of public distress,
Have extorted from the posterity of those settlers;
And are daily endeavouring to reduce them
To the most abject slavery;
Though to the virtue and industry of those people,
In improving their country,
They owe all that they possess and enjoy.
A striking instance
Of human depravity and ingratitude;
And an irrefragable proof,
That wisdom and goodness
Do not descend with an inheritance;
But that ineffable meanness
May be connected with unbounded fortune.[1]

[1] Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 1754, *passim;* 1755, 1756, 1757, *passim;* 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, *passim.*

What then avails it to the honor of the present proprietors that our founder and their father gave us privileges, if they, the sons, will not permit the use of them, or forcibly rend them from us? David may have been a man after God's own heart, and Solomon, the wisest of proprietors and governors, but if Rehoboam will be a tyrant and a ——, who can secure him the affections of the people? The virtue and merit of his ancestors may be very great; but his presumption in depending upon these alone may be much greater.

I lamented a few pages ago that we were not acquainted with the names of those "principal gentlemen, the wiser and better part of the province." I now rejoice that we are likely some time or other to know them; for a copy of a "Petition to the King" is now before me, which, from its similarity with their letter, must be of their inditing, and will probably be recommended to the people by their leading up the signing.

On this petition I shall take the liberty of making a few remarks, as they will save me the necessity of following farther the Preface, the sentiments of this and that being nearly the same.

It begins with a formal quotation from the petition,[1] which they own they have not seen, and of words that are not in it; and, after relating very imperfectly and unfairly the fact relating to their application for a copy of it, which is of no importance, proceeds to set forth: "That, as we and all your

[1] The petition of the assembly to the king for a royal government.—EDITOR.

American subjects must be governed by persons authorized and approved by your Majesty, on the best recommendation that can be obtained of them, we cannot perceive our condition in this respect to be different from our fellow-subjects around us; or that we are thereby less under your Majesty's particular care and protection than they are; since there can be no governors of this province without your Majesty's immediate approbation and authority."

Such a declaration from the wiser part of the province is really a little surprising. What! when disputes concerning matters of property are daily arising between you and your proprietaries, cannot your wisdoms perceive the least difference between having the judges of those disputes appointed by a royal governor who has no interest in the cause, and having them appointed by the proprietaries themselves, the principal parties against you, and during their pleasure too? When supplies are necessary to be raised for your defence, can you perceive no difference between having a royal governor, free to promote his Majesty's service by a ready assent to your laws, and a proprietary governor, shackled by instructions forbidding him to give that assent unless some private advantage is obtained, some profit got, or unequal exemption gained for their estate, or some privilege wrested from you? When prerogative, that in other governments is only used for the good of the people, is here strained to the extreme, and used to their prejudice and the proprietaries' benefit, can you perceive no difference? When the direct and immedi-

ate rays of Majesty benignly and mildly shine on all around us, but are transmitted and thrown upon *us* through the burning-glass of proprietary government, can your sensibilities feel no difference? Sheltered perhaps in proprietary offices, or benumbed with expectations, it may be you cannot. But surely you might have known better than to tell his Majesty, "that there can be no governors of this province without his immediate approbation." Don't you know, who know so much, that by our blessed constitution the proprietors themselves, whenever they please, may govern us in person, without such approbation?

The petition proceeds to tell his Majesty, "That the particular mode of government which we enjoy under your Majesty, is held in the highest estimation by good men of all denominations among us; and has brought multitudes of industrious people from various parts of the world," &c. Really, can this be from proprietary partisans? That constitution, which they were for ever censuring, as defective in a legislative council, defective in government powers, too popular in many of its modes; is it now become so excellent? Perhaps, as they have been tinkering it these twenty years, till they have stripped it of some of its most valuable privileges, and almost spoiled it, they now begin to like it. But then it is not surely this present constitution that brought hither those multitudes. They came before. At least it was not that particular in our constitution (the proprietary power of appointing a governor) which attracted

them; that single particular, which alone is now in question; which our venerable founder first, and now the assembly, are endeavouring to change.

As to the remaining valuable part of our constitution, the assembly have been equally full and strong in expressing their regard for it, and perhaps stronger and fuller; for their petition in that respect is in the nature of a petition of right; it lays claim, though modestly and humbly, to those privileges on the foundation of royal grants, on laws confirmed by the crown, and on justice and equity; as the grants were the considerations offered to induce them to settle, and which they have in a manner purchased and paid for, by executing that settlement without putting the crown to any expense.

Whoever would know what our constitution was, when it was so much admired, let him peruse that elegant farewell speech of Mr. Hamilton, father of our late governor, when, as Speaker, he took his leave of the House, and of public business, in 1739; and then let him compare that constitution with the present. The power of *appointing public officers* by the representatives of the people, which he so much extols; where is it now? Even the bare naming to the governor in a bill, a trivial officer to receive a light-house duty (which could be considered as no more than a mere recommendation), is, in a late message, styled "an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown." The sole power of *raising and disposing of public money*, which he says was then lodged in the assembly; that inestimable privilege, what is become of it? Inch

by inch they have been wrested from us in times of public distress; and the rest are going the same way. I remember to have seen, when Governor Hamilton was engaged in a dispute with the assembly on some of those points, a copy of that speech, which then was intended to be reprinted, with a dedication to that honorable gentleman, and this motto, from John Rogers's verses in the Primer:

> "We send you here a little book,
> For you to look upon,
> That you may see your father's face,
> Now he is dead and gone."

Many such a little book has been sent by our assemblies to the present proprietaries; but they do not like to see their father's face; it puts their own out of countenance.

The petition proceeds to say: "That such disagreements as have arisen in this province, we have beheld with sorrow; but, as others around us are not exempted from the like misfortunes, we can by no means conceive them incident to the nature of our government, which hath often been administered with remarkable harmony; and your Majesty, before whom our late disputes have been laid, can be at no loss, in your great wisdom to discover, whether they proceed from the above cause, or should be ascribed to some others." The disagreements in question are proprietary disagreements in government, relating to proprietary private interests. And are not the royal governments around us exempt from these misfortunes? Can you really, Gentlemen, by no means conceive, that pro-

prietary government disagreements are incident to the nature of proprietary governments? Can they in nature be incident to any other governments? If your wisdoms are hard to conceive, I am afraid they will never bring forth.

But then our government "hath *often* been administered with remarkable harmony." Very true; as often as the assembly have been able and willing to purchase that harmony, and pay for it; the mode of which has already been shown. And yet that word *often* seems a little unluckily chosen; the flame that is often put out must be as often lit. If our government "hath often been administered with remarkable harmony," it hath as often been administered with remarkable discord. One *often* is as numerous as the other. And his Majesty, if he should take the trouble of looking over our disputes (to which the petitioners, to save themselves a little pains, modestly and decently refer him), where will he, for twenty years past, find any but proprietary disputes concerning proprietary interests, or disputes that have been connected with and arose from them?

The petition proceeds to assure his Majesty, "that this province (except from the Indian ravages) enjoys the *most perfect internal tranquillity.*" Amazing! What! the most perfect tranquillity, when there have been three atrocious riots within a few months! When, in two of them, horrid murders were committed on twenty innocent persons; and, in the third, no less than one hundred and forty like murders were meditated, and declared to be intended, with as many

more as should be occasioned by any opposition! When we know, that these rioters and murders have none of them been punished, have never been prosecuted, have not even been apprehended; when we are frequently told that they intend still to execute their purposes as soon as the protection of the King's forces is withdrawn! Is our tranquillity more perfect now than it was between the first riot and the second, or between the second and the third? And why "except the Indian ravages," if a *little intermission* is to be denominated "the most perfect tranquillity"? for the Indians too have been quiet lately. Almost as well might ships in an engagement talk of the "most perfect tranquillity" between two broadsides. But "a spirit of riot and violence is foreign to the general temper of the inhabitants." I hope and believe it is; the assembly have said nothing to the contrary. And yet is there not too much of it? Are there not pamphlets continually written, and daily sold in our streets, to justify and encourage it? Are not the mad armed mob in those writings instigated to embrue their hands in the blood of their fellow citizens, by first applauding their murder of the Indians, and then representing the assembly and their friends as worse than Indians, as having privately stirred up the Indians to murder the white people, and armed and rewarded them for that purpose? *Lies*, Gentlemen, villanous as ever the malice of hell invented, and which, to do you justice, not one of you believes, though you would have the mob believe them.

But your petition proceeds to say, "that where such disturbances have happened, they have been *speedily quieted.*" By whom were they quieted? The two first, if they can be said to be quieted, were quieted only by the rioters themselves going home quietly (that is, without any interruption), and remaining there till their next insurrection, without any pursuit or attempt to apprehend any of them. And the third, was it quieted, or was the mischief they intended prevented, or could it have been prevented, without the aid of the King's troops, marched into the province for that purpose? "The civil powers have been supported," in some sort. We all know how they were supported; but have they been fully supported? Has the government sufficient strength, even with all its supports, to venture on the apprehending and punishment of those notorious offenders? If it has not, why are you angry at those who would strengthen its hands by a more immediate royal authority? If it has, why is not the thing done? Why will the government, by its conduct, strengthen the suspicions (groundless no doubt), that it has come to a private understanding with those murderers, and that impunity for their past crimes is to be the reward of their future political services? Oh, but says the petition, "There are perhaps cases in all governments, where it may *not be possible speedily to discover offenders.*" Probably; is there any case in any government where it is not possible to *endeavour* such a discovery? There may be cases where it is not safe to do it. And perhaps the best

thing our government can say for itself is, that that is our case. The only objection to such an apology must be, that it would justify that part of the assembly's petition to the crown which relates to the weakness of our present government.[1]

Still, if there is any fault, it must be in the assembly. "For," says the petition, "if the executive part of our government should seem in any case too weak, we conceive it is the duty of the assembly, and in their power, to strengthen it." This weakness, however, you have just denied. "Disturbances," you say, "have been speedily quieted, and the civil power supported"; and thereby you have deprived your insinuated charge against the assembly of its only support. But is it not a fact known to you all, that the assembly did endeavour to strengthen the hands of the government? That, at his Honor's instance, they prepared and passed in a few hours a bill for extending hither the act of Parliament for dispersing rioters? That they also passed and presented to him a militia bill, which he refused, unless powers were thereby given him over the lives and properties of the inhabitants, which the public good did not require, and which their duty to their constituents would not permit them to trust in the hands of any proprietary governor? You know the points, Gentlemen; they have been made public. Would you have had your

[1] The assembly, being called upon by the governor for their advice on that occasion, did, in a message, advise his sending for and examining the magistrates of Lancaster county and borough, where the murders were committed, in order to discover the actors; but neither that, nor any of the other measures recommended, were ever taken. Proclamations indeed were published, but soon discontinued.

representatives give up those points? Do you intend to give them up, when at the next election you are made assembly-men? If so, tell it us honestly beforehand, that we may know what we are to expect, when we are about to choose you.

I come now to the last clause of your petition, where, with the same wonderful sagacity with which you in another case discovered the excellency of a speech you never heard, you undertake to characterize a petition you own you never saw; and venture to assure his Majesty, that it is "exceeding grievous in its nature; that it by no means contains a proper representation of the state of this province; and is repugnant to the general sense of his numerous and loyal subjects" in it. Are, then, his Majesty's numerous and loyal subjects in this province all as great wizards as yourselves, and capable of knowing, without seeing it, that a petition is repugnant to their general sense?

But the inconsistence of your petition, Gentlemen, is not so much to be wondered at. The prayer of it is still more extraordinary: "We therefore most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased wholly to disregard the said petition of the assembly." What! without inquiry! without examination! without a hearing of what the assembly might say in support of it! "wholly disregard" the petition of your representatives in assembly; accompanied by other petitions signed by thousands of your fellow subjects, as loyal, if not as wise and as good as yourselves! Would you wish to see your great and amiable prince

act a part that could not become a Dey of Algiers? Do you, who are Americans, pray for a precedent of such contempt in the treatment of an American assembly? Such "total disregard" of their humble applications to the throne? Surely your Wisdoms here have overshot yourselves. But as wisdom shows itself, not only in doing what is right, but in confessing and *amending* what is wrong, I recommend the latter particularly to your present attention, being persuaded of this consequence, that, though you have been mad enough to sign such a petition, you never will be fools enough to present it.

There is one thing mentioned in the Preface, which I find I omitted to take notice of as I came along, the refusal of the House to enter Mr. Dickinson's protest on their minutes. This is mentioned in such a manner there and in the newspapers, as to insinuate a charge of some partiality and injustice in the assembly. But the reasons were merely these: that, though protesting may be a practice with the Lords of Parliament, there is no instance of it in the House of Commons, whose proceedings are the model followed by the assemblies of America; that there is no precedent of it in our votes, from the beginning of our present constitution; and that the introducing such a practice would be attended with inconveniences, as the representatives in assembly are not, like the Lords in Parliament, unaccountable to any constituents; and would therefore find it necessary for their own justification, if the reasons of the minority for being against a measure were admitted in the votes, to put there

likewise the reasons that induced the majority to be for it; whereby the votes which were intended only as a register of propositions and determinations, would be filled with the disputes of members with members, and the public business be thereby greatly retarded, if ever brought to a period.

As that protest was a mere abstract of Mr. Dickinson's speech, every particular of it will be found answered in the following speech of Mr. Galloway; from which it is fit that I should no longer detain the reader.

## CCLVI.

### REMARKS

### ON A LATE PROTEST AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. FRANKLIN AS AGENT FOR THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The zeal and perseverance with which Franklin had espoused the cause of the people against the proprietaries, raised up many enemies in the adverse party. At the election for a new assembly, therefore, in the autumn of 1764, great efforts were made by his opponents to prevent his being chosen, in which they succeeded. By a small majority he lost his seat in the assembly, which he had held for fourteen years, having been annually elected, even during his absence in England, as one of the delegates from the city of Philadelphia. But, notwithstanding his defeat, when the assembly met it was found that his friends and the friends of his measures outnumbered the proprietary party, and he was again appointed to resume his agency in England, and to take charge of a petition to the king. Dissatisfied with this step, the minority in the House drew up a formal protest, and urged its being inserted in the minutes; but it was refused, on the ground of its being irregular and unprecedented. The protest was published,

and gave occasion for the following reply, written at the moment the author was preparing to depart for Europe.—EDITOR.

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I have generally passed over, with a silent disregard, the *nameless* abusive pieces that have been written against me; and, though this paper, called "A Protest," is signed by some respectable names, I was, nevertheless, inclined to treat it with the same indifference; but as the assembly is therein reflected on upon my account, it is thought more my duty to make some remarks upon it.

I would first observe, then, that this mode of *protesting* by the minority, with a string of reasons against the proceedings of the majority of the House of Assembly, is quite new among us; the present is the second we have had of the kind, and both within a few months. It is unknown to the practice of the House of Commons, or of any House of Representatives in America that I have heard of; and seems an affected imitation of the Lords in Parliament, which can by no means become assembly-men of America. Hence appears the absurdity of the complaint, that the House refused the protest an entry on their minutes. The protestors know that they are not by any custom or usage entitled to such an entry; and that the practice here is not only useless in itself, but would be highly inconvenient to the House, since it would probably be thought necessary for the majority also to enter their reasons, to justify themselves to their constituents; whereby the minutes would be encumbered, and the public business obstructed. More

especially will it be found inconvenient, if such protests are made use of as a new form of libelling, as the vehicles of personal malice, and as means of giving to private abuse the appearance of a sanction as public acts. Your protest, Gentlemen, was therefore properly refused; and, since it is no part of the proceedings of assembly, one may with the more freedom examine it.

Your first reason against my appointment is, that you "believe me to be the chief author of the measures pursued by the last assembly, which have occasioned such uneasiness and distraction among the good people of this province." I shall not dispute my share in those measures; I hope they are such as will in time do honor to all that were concerned in them. But you seem mistaken in the order of time. It was the uneasiness and distraction among the good people of the province, that occasioned the measures; the province was in confusion before they were taken, and they were pursued in order to prevent such uneasiness and distraction for the future. Make one step farther back, and you will find proprietary injustice, supported by proprietary minions and creatures, the original cause of all our uneasiness and distractions.

Another of your reasons is "that I am, as you are informed, very unfavorably thought of by several of his Majesty's ministers." I apprehend, Gentlemen, that your informer is mistaken. He indeed has taken great pains to give unfavorable impressions of me, and perhaps may flatter himself that it is impos-

sible so much true industry should be totally without effect. His long success in maiming or murdering all the reputations that stand in his way (which has been the dear delight and constant employment of his life) may likewise have given him some just ground for confidence that he has, as they call it, *done* for me among the rest. But, as I said before, I believe he is mistaken. For what have I done that they should think unfavorably of me? It cannot be my constantly and uniformly promoting the measures of the crown ever since I had any influence in the province. It cannot, surely, be my promoting the change from a proprietary to a royal government.

If indeed I had, by speeches and writings, endeavoured to make his Majesty's government universally odious in the province; if I had harangued by the week to all comers and goers on the pretended injustice and oppressions of royal government, and the slavery of the people under it; if I had written traitorous papers to this purpose, and got them translated into other languages to give his Majesty's foreign subjects here those horrible ideas of it; if I had declared, written, and printed, that "the King's little finger we should find heavier than the proprietor's whole loins," with regard to our liberties, then indeed might the ministers be supposed to think unfavorably of me. But these are not exploits for a man who holds a profitable office under the crown, and can expect to hold it no longer than he behaves with the fidelity and duty that become every good subject. They are only for officers of proprietary

appointment, who hold their commissions during his and not the King's pleasure, and who, by dividing among themselves and their relations offices of many thousands a year enjoyed by proprietary favor, *feel* where to place their loyalty. I wish they were as good subjects to his Majesty; and perhaps they may be so when the proprietary interferes no longer.

Another of your reasons is "that the proposal of me for an agent is extremely disagreeable to a very great number of the most serious and reputable inhabitants of the province, and the proof is my having been rejected at the last election, though I had represented the city in assembly for fourteen years."

And do those of you, Gentlemen, reproach me with this, who, among near four thousand voters, had scarcely a score more than I had? It seems, then, that your elections were very near being rejections, and thereby furnishing the same proof in your case that you produce in mine, of your being likewise extremely disagreeable to a very great number of the most serious and reputable people. Do you, honorable Sir, reproach me with this who for almost twice fourteen years have been rejected (if *not being chosen* is *to be rejected*) by the same people, and (unable, with all your wealth and connexions, and the influence they give you, to obtain an election in the county where you reside, and the city where you were born, and are best known) have been obliged to accept a seat from one of the out counties, the remotest of the province! It is known, Sir, to the persons who proposed me that I was first chosen against

my inclination, and against my entreaties that I might be suffered to remain a private man. In none of the fourteen elections you mention did I ever appear as a candidate. I never did, directly or indirectly, solicit any man's votes. For six of the years in which I was annually chosen I was absent, residing in England, during all which time your secret and open attacks upon my character and reputation were incessant, and yet you gained no ground. And can you really, Gentlemen, find matter of triumph in this *rejection* as you call it? A moment's reflection on the means by which it was obtained must make you ashamed of it.

Not only my duty to the crown, in carrying the post-office act more duly into execution, was made use of to exasperate the ignorant, as if I was increasing my own profits, by picking their pockets; but my very zeal in opposing the murderers, and supporting the authority of government, and even my humanity with regard to the innocent Indians under our protection, were mustered among my offences, to stir up against me those religious bigots, who are of all savages the most brutish. Add to this the numberless falsehoods propagated as truths; and the many perjuries procured among the wretched rabble brought to swear themselves entitled to a vote; and yet so poor a superiority obtained at all this expense of honor and conscience! Can this, Gentlemen, be matter of triumph? Enjoy it then. Your exultation, however, was short.

Your artifices did not prevail everywhere; nor your

double tickets, and whole boxes of forged votes. A great majority of the new-chosen assembly were of the old members, and remain uncorrupted. They still stood firm for the people, and will obtain justice from the proprietaries. But what does that avail to you, who are in the proprietary interest? And what comfort can it afford you, when, by the assembly's choice of an agent, it appears that the same, to you obnoxious, man (notwithstanding all your venomous invectives against him) still retains so great a share of the public confidence?

But "this step," you say, "gives you the more lively affliction, as it is taken at the very moment when you were informed by a member of the House, that the governor had assured him of his having received instructions from the proprietaries to give his assent to the taxation of their estates, in the same manner that the estates of other persons are to be taxed; and also to confirm, for the public use, the several squares formerly claimed by the city." O the force of friendship! the power of interest! What politeness they infuse into a writer, and what delicate expressions they produce!

The dispute between the proprietaries and us was about the quantum, the rate of their taxation; and not about the manner; but now, when all the world condemns them for requiring a partial exemption of their estates, and they are forced to submit to an honest equality, it is called "*assenting* to be taxed in the *same* manner with the people." Their restitution of five public squares in the plan of the city, which

they had near forty years unjustly and dishonorably seized and detained from us, (directing their surveyor to map streets over them, in order to turn them into lots, and their officers to sell a part of them,) this their *disgorging* is softly called *confirming* them for the public use; and instead of the plain words, "formerly given to the city by the first proprietary, their father," we have the cautious, pretty expression of "formerly *claimed* by the city." Yes; not only *formerly*, but always claimed, ever since they were promised and given to encourage the settlers; and ever will be claimed, till we are put in actual possession of them. It is pleasant, however, to see how lightly and tenderly you trip over these matters, as if you trod upon eggs.

But that "*very moment*," that precious moment! Why was it so long delayed? Why were those healing instructions so long withheld and concealed from the people? They were, it seems, brought over by Mr. Allen.[1] Intelligence was received by various hands from London, that orders were sent by the proprietaries, from which great hopes were entertained of an accommodation. Why was the bringing and the delivery of such orders so long denied? The reason is easily understood. Messieurs Barclay, friends to both proprietaries and people, wished for

[1] Extract of a letter, dated London, August 6, 1764, from David Barclay & Sons to Messieurs James and Drinker.

"We very much wish for William Allen's happy arrival on your side; when we hope his influence, added to the *power* and *commissions* the proprietaries have invested him with, may prove effectual in restoring harmony and tranquillity among you, so much to be desired by every wellwisher to your province. Pray be assured of our sincerest and best wishes for the success of this salutary work, and that nothing in our power to contribute thereto will ever be wanting."

that gentleman's happy arrival; hoping his influence, added to the power and commissions the proprietaries had vested him with, might prove effectual in restoring harmony and tranquillity among us. But he, it seems, hoped his influence might do the business without these additions.

There appeared, on his arrival, some prospect (from sundry circumstances) of a change to be made in the House by the approaching election. The proprietary friends and creatures knew the heart of their master, and how extremely disagreeeble to him that equal taxation, that restitution, and the other concessions to be made for the sake of a reconciliation, must necessarily be. They hoped therefore to spare him all those mortifications, and thereby secure a greater portion of his favor. Hence the instructions were not produced to the last assembly; though they arrived before the September sitting, when the governor was in town, and actually did business with the House. Nor to the new assembly were they mentioned, till the "*very moment*," the fatal moment, when the House were on the point of choosing that wicked adversary of the proprietary, to be an agent of the province in England.

But I have, you say, a "fixed enmity to the proprietaries," and "you believe it will preclude all accommodation of our disputes with them, even on just and reasonable terms." And why do you think I have a fixed enmity to the proprietaries? I have never had any personal difference with them. I am no landjobber; and therefore have never had any thing to do

with their land office or officers; if I had, probably, like others, I might have been obliged to truckle to their measures, or have had like causes of complaint. But our private interests never clashed; and all their resentment against me, and mine to them, has been on the public account. Let them do justice to the people of Pennsylvania, act honorably by the citizens of Philadelphia, and become honest men; my enmity, if that 's of any consequence, ceases from the "*very moment*," and, as soon as I possibly can, I promise to love, honor, and respect them.

In the meantime, why do you "believe it will preclude all accommodation with them on just and reasonable terms"? Do you not boast that their gracious condescensions are in the hands of the governor; and that "if this had been the usual time for business, his Honor would have sent them down in a message to the House." How then can my going to England prevent this accommodation? The governor can call the House when he pleases; and, one would think that, at least in your opinion, my being out of the way would be a favorable circumstance. For then, by "cultivating the disposition shown by the proprietaries, every reasonable demand that can be made on the part of the people might be obtained; in vigorously insisting on which, you promise to unite more earnestly with the rest of the House." It seems then we have "reasonable demands" to make, and, as you call them a little higher, *equitable demands.* This is much for proprietary minions to own; but you are all growing better, in imitation of your mas-

ter, which is indeed very commendable. And, if the accommodation here should fail, I hope that, though you dislike the person a majority of two to one in the House have thought fit to appoint an agent, you will nevertheless, in duty to your country, continue the noble resolution of uniting with the rest of the House in vigorously insisting on that equity and justice which such a union will undoubtedly obtain for us.

I pass over the trivial charge against the assembly, that they "acted with unnecessary haste in proceeding to this appointment, without making a small adjournment," &c., and your affected apprehensions of danger from that haste. The necessity of expedition on this occasion is as obvious to every one out of doors, as it was to those within; and the fears you mention are not, I fancy, considerable enough to break your rest.

I come then to your *high* charge against me, "that I heretofore ventured, contrary to an act of assembly, to place the public money in the stocks; whereby this province suffered a loss of six thousand pounds, and that sum, added to the five thousand pounds granted for my expenses, makes the whole cost of my former voyage to England amount to *eleven thousand pounds!*" How wisely was that form in our laws contrived, which, when a man is arraigned for his life, requires the evidence to speak *the truth*, the *whole truth*, and *nothing but the truth!* The reason is manifest. A falsehood may destroy the innocent; so may part of a truth without the whole; and a mixture

of truth and falsehood may be full as pernicious. You, Mr. Chief Justice, and the other justices among the protestors, and you, Sir, who are a Counsellor at Law, must all of you be well acquainted with this excellent form; and when you arraigned my reputation (dearer to me than life) before the assembly, and now at the respectable tribunal of the public, would it not have well become your honors to have had some small regard at least to the spirit of that form?

You might have mentioned that the direction of the act to lodge the money in the bank, subject to the drafts of the trustees of the loan office here, was impracticable; that the bank refused to receive it on those terms, it being contrary to their settled rules to take charge of money subject to the orders of unknown people living in distant countries. You might have mentioned that the House being informed of this, and having no immediate call for the money, did themselves adopt the measure of placing it in the stocks, which then were low; where it might on a peace produce a considerable profit, and in the meantime accumulate an interest. That they even passed a bill, directing the subsequent sums granted by Parliament to be placed with the former; that the measure was prudent and safe; and that the loss arose, not from placing the money *in* the stocks, but from the imprudent and unnecessary *drawing it out* at the very time when they were lowest, on some slight uncertain rumors of a peace concluded; that, if the assembly had let it remain another year, instead of losing, they would have gained *six thousand pounds;*

and that, after all, since the exchange at which they sold their bills was near twenty per cent. higher when they drew than when the stocks were purchased, the loss was far from being so great as you represent it.

All these things you might have said; for they are, and you know them to be, part of the *whole truth;* but they would have spoiled your accusation. The late Speaker of your honorable House, Mr. Norris (who has, I suppose, all my letters to him, and copies of his own to me, relating to that transaction), can testify with how much integrity and clearness I managed the whole affair. All the House were sensible of it, being from time to time fully acquainted with the facts. If I had gone to gaming in the stocks with the public money, and through my fault a sum was lost, as your protest would insinuate, why was I not censured and punished for it when I returned? You, honorable Sir (my enemy of seven years' standing), were then in the House. You were appointed on the committee for examining my accounts; you reported that you found them just, and signed that report.[1]

[1] Report of the Committee on Benjamin Franklin's Accounts.

"February 19, 1763. In obedience to the order of the House, we have examined the account of Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, with the vouchers to us produced in support thereof, and do find the same account to be just; and that he has expended, in the immediate service of this province, the sum of *seven hundred and fourteen pounds, ten shillings, and seven pence,* out of the sum of *fifteen hundred pounds* sterling, to him remitted and paid, exclusive of any allowance or charge for his support and services for the province.

"JOHN MORTON,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
JOHN ROSS,
JOHN MOOR,
JOSEPH FOX,
JOHN HUGHES,
SAMUEL RHOADS,
JOHN WILKINSON.
ISAAC PEARSON.

"The House, taking the foregoing report of the committee of accounts

I never solicited the employ of agent; I made no bargain for my future service, when I was ordered to England by the assembly; nor did they vote me any salary. I lived there near six years at my own expense, and I made no charge or demand when I came home. You, Sir, of all others, were the very member that proposed (for the honor and justice of the House) a compensation to be made me of the five thousand pounds you mention. Was it with an intent to reproach me thus publicly for accepting it? I thanked the House for it then, and I thank you now for proposing it; though you, who have lived in England, can easily conceive that, besides the prejudice to my private affairs by my absence, a thousand pounds more would not have reimbursed me.

The money voted was immediately paid me. But if I had occasioned the loss of six thousand pounds to the province, here was a fair opportunity of securing easily the greatest part of it. Why was not the five thousand pounds deducted, and the remainder called

into consideration, and having spent some time therein,

"*Resolved*, That the sum of *five hundred pounds* sterling, per annum, be allowed and given to Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, late agent for the province of Pennsylvania at the court of Great Britain, during his absence of six years from his business and connexions, in the service of the public; and that the thanks of this House be also given to the said gentleman by Mr. Speaker, from the chair, as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to this province in particular, as for the many and important services done America in general, during his residence in Great Britain."

"Thursday, March 31, 1763. Pursuant to a resolve of the 19th of last month, that the thanks of this House be given to Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, for his many services, not only to the province of Pennsylvania, but to America in general, during his late agency at the court of Great Britain, the same were this day accordingly given in form from the chair. To which Mr. Franklin, respectfully addressing himself to the Speaker, made answer: 'That he was thankful to the House for the very handsome and generous allowance they had been pleased to make him for his services; but that the approbation of this house was, in his estimation, far above every other kind of recompense.'"—*Votes*, 1763.

for? The reason is this accusation was not then invented. Permit me to add that, supposing the whole eleven thousand pounds an expense occasioned by my voyage to England; yet the taxation of the proprietary estate now established, will, when valued by years' purchase, be found in time an advantage to the public far exceeding that expense. And if the expense is at present a burden, the odium of it ought to lie on those who, by their injustice, made the voyage necessary, and not on me, who only submitted to the orders of the House in undertaking it.

I am now to take leave (perhaps a last leave) of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my life. *Esto perpetuo.* I wish every kind of prosperity to my friends; and I forgive my enemies.

B. FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, Nov. 5, 1764.

## CCLVII.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 9 February, 1765.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I have been so hurried of late that I could not write much by this packet. One letter to the Speaker, and one to you, are all I shall be able to make out. Thanks to God, I am got perfectly well; my cough quite gone. My arms, too, continue mending, so that I can now put on and off my clothes, but do not practise it yet, as it still hurts me a little. John continues with me, behaves very well,

and talks of returning with me. Mrs. Stevenson has bought the things you wrote for, and they will go by Captain Robinson. She presents her compliments, and wishes you would come over and bring Sally. I purpose sending in the chest some books for cousin Colbert, if the bookseller sends them soon enough.

I hope to be able to return about the end of summer. I will look out for a watch for Sally, as you desire, to bring with me. The reason I did not think of it before, was your suffering her to wear yours, which you seldom use yourself. Major Small arrived here about three weeks since very well, and gave me the pleasure of hearing that he left you and Sally and our other children well also. The news of Colonel Bouquet's success gave great satisfaction here, but to none more than myself, upon his account as well as the country's. I do not know whether I mentioned in any former letter, that I could wish you to send me what letters come to your hands directed to me in my absence. I particularly want those that went from the post-office here.

I am obliged to our landlord for his civility, and shall always remember it. I hope by this time your trouble of moving is over, and that you are completely settled. I went to see Mrs. West. She was then unwell, and I did not see her, and have since been too busy; but shall wait on them again very soon. My love to all. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

# CCLVIII.

## FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, 27 February, 1765.

DEAR SIR:—I wrote to you by the packet, including a copy of the extract of a letter from Thomas Penn to his nephew, the governor, which is enclosed in this letter.

This account of the petitions for a change of this government from proprietary to royal, has struck our friends with the utmost consternation, and, indeed, I am not a little alarmed at the consequences. For, you well know, the Assembly party are the only loyal part of the people here, and are those very persons, who have preserved the peace and good order of the province, not only against the Paxton rioters and murderers, but also in these times of general tumult and distraction, when all the powers of this government were asleep, and its officers were inactive in the opposition; and they conceive that this good demeanor and remarkable service to the crown justify their claim of some share of merit, and, at least, entitles them to a hearing of their complaints.

But they say, if this extract be true, that his Majesty's Privy Council has rejected the humble petitions of their representatives without even a hearing; that they have not been permitted, when they approached the throne with the utmost duty and loyalty, to breathe forth their complaints against proprietary oppression and injustice, which has often wounded their own welfare, and obstructed their essential duties to the crown; and that they have nothing now left, but to groan, if they dare to groan at all, under the tyranny of a private subject, without the least hopes of redress, the royal ear being shut against a part of his liege subjects, the most dutiful and loyal.

They further say, what you well know, that the laws are not, nor have been for many years, duly executed; that no justice is to be obtained against the Proprietors, or their adherents; that the most flagitious offenders, even murderers

and rebels, are travelling about the country with impunity; and that they have no protection of life nor safety of person or property. These, with many other complaints, are constantly issuing from the hearts of the people; the proprietary dependents excepted, who greatly rejoice and even insult the petitioners and their friends. Since the receipt of this incredible letter, extracts whereof have been industriously sent all over the province, in order to spirit up the temper and violent disposition of their party, I have left nothing in my power unessayed among our friends to oppose the torrent, and to prevail on them to discredit this account, and to believe that his Majesty will yet hear their petitions and redress their aggrievances. And I have been obliged to give many extracts of your letters to me, respecting the state of those petitions, to convince them of my assurances, which has, in some degree, prevented their despair, as they have been from thence induced to discredit the extract.

Our Assembly, anxious to know the result of the petitions, have adjourned to the 6th of May next; being inviolably attached to his Majesty, and firmly determined to become his immediate subjects, if there are any human means left to effect it. And since the assurances that have been received, that our liberties will be preserved on the change, all their constituents (the proprietary dependents and Presbyterians excepted) are determined to support them in the attempt. Should this account from the Proprietor prove true (which God forbid), that their petitions are rejected without a *hearing*, I fear their consternation and distress will be wrought still higher. For, while the present members are continued, I am convinced they will never cease entreating his Majesty to rescue them from the oppression of his private subjects; and that there is a great probability to presume their continuance, will appear from the accounts of the last election.

Wherefore I hope the petitions, as you have written, and I have confidently declared, are not rejected, or laid aside,

but will be resumed when the more important American affairs are settled. Nothing less than a change, I think, will satisfy the people; certain I am, a dismission without a hearing never can, but, I fear, will throw this already too unhappy province into equal disorder and confusion with its neighbouring colonies.

You will therefore be pleased to inform me in what state the petitions are before his Majesty's Council, by the earliest opportunity, that I may be enabled to satisfy the people, who rely upon us with certainty. In the meantime, be assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to preserve the peace, and render them easy. Believe me, dear friend, ever yours most affectionately, JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

## CCLIX.

### FROM MRS. FRANKLIN TO HER HUSBAND.

Aprill ye 7 this day is Compleet 5 munthes senes you lefte your one House I did reseve a letter from the Capes senes that not one line I due supose that you did write by the Jan packit but that is not arived as yit Mits wikeof came and told me that you was arived and was well that her Brother had wrote her he had seen you Mr. Neet has wrote that you was well and miss Graham has wrote all so that shee had the pleshuer of a visit from you and several have wrote that you was well all thes a Countes air as plesing as such things Can be but a letter wold tell me hough your poor armes was and hough you was on your voiag and hough you air and everey thing is with you which I wante verey much to know.

Mr. Foxcrafte came to toun this day weeke and is to retame a gen in a bought a week and as I had got sume [?] of our things in the new house and beads in the uper roomes he lodges in the room fasing the market-street and has his writeing thair all so yisterday sume of the saches was hung and

if I wold a low my selef I cold find falt but I donte and so we go on but it has bin such bad wather this is freyday morning Aprill ye 12 yisterday I reseved yours of Desember 10 and 27 Jan. 12 all by the packit which was given over for loste but thank God is now safe arived.

As I have but a very littel time to write as the rodes is so very bad I shall only to Joyne with you in senser thanks to god for your presevevoashon and Safe a rivel o what reson have you and I to be thankful for maney meney [?] we have reseved.

Billey and his wife is in town they Came to the rases lodged at Mr Galloway but Spente yisterday at our house and Mr William's Brother we was att diner I sed I had not aney thing but vitels for I cold not get aney thing for a deserte but who knows but I may treet you with sum thing from Ingland and as we was at tabel Mr. Sumain [?] Came and sed the poste had gone by with the letters that the packit had brought so I had the pleshuer of treeting quite grand indeed and our littel Company as Cherful and hapey as oney in the world none excepted o my dear hough hapey am I to hear that you air safe and well hough dus your armes doe was John of servis to you is your Cold quite gon o I long to know the partic [?] hear I must levef of Salley not up as she was at the Assembly last night with her Sister and I have spook to more than twenty sense I wrote the a bove, I saw Mr. Rhodes this morning he is well and has a Grandatter named Mary Franklin Brother and Sister is well Brother Read is gon to Pittsburg Debbey sends her Duty to you but is verey poorly indeed Cusin Devenporte is hear her Doty shee is will Hethcote desiers his I donte no that I shold say it but he ses his Duty I supose moste of your friends wrote to you.

My love to good Mrs Stephenson and Polley to our Cosines to Mr and Mrs Strahan [?] and their whole famely. to our good Mr. Collinson to Mr and Mrs Weste and to all who I am obligd to for thair kiness to you every one that I have seen desiers to be remember to you and everey one hinders me

our one famely is well and sendes Duty I am told that my old naber Mrs Emson is to be in London my love to her and give her a kis from me adoe my Dear child and take caire of youre selef for maneys sake as well as your one.

I am your a feckshonet wife

D. FRANKLIN.

Mrs Potts and Saell send their Love and Duty to you.

[On the back of the letter written across the page is the following.]

Laste night Capt. Car arived I supose you did not write by him. Mama had a letter from Susan Write they were all well a few days ago.

## CCLX.

### TO THE EDITOR OF A NEWSPAPER.

Monday, 20 May, 1765.

SIR:—In your paper of Wednesday last, an ingenious correspondent who calls himself THE SPECTATOR, and dates from *Pimlico*, under the guise of good-will to news-writers, whom he calls a "useful body of men in this great city," has, in my opinion, artfully attempted to turn them and their works into ridicule, wherein, if he could succeed, great injury might be done to the public as well as to these good people.

Supposing, Sir, that the "*we hears*" they give us of this or the other intended tour or voyage of this and the other great personage were mere inventions, yet they at least offer us an innocent amusement while we read, and useful matter for conversation when we are disposed to converse.

Englishmen, Sir, are apt to be silent when they have nothing to say, and too apt to be sullen when they are silent; and, when they are sullen, to hang themselves. But, by these *we hears*, we are supplied with abundant funds for discourse. We discuss the motives for such voyages, the probability of their being undertaken, and the practicability of their execution. Here we display our judgment in politics, our knowledge of the interests of princes, and our skill in geography, and (if we have it) show our dexterity in argumentation. In the meantime, the tedious hour is killed, we go home pleased with the applause we have received from others, or at least with those we give to ourselves; we sleep soundly, and live on, to the comfort of our families. But, Sir, I beg leave to say, that all the articles of news that seem improbable are not mere inventions. Some of them, I can assure you on the faith of a traveller, are serious truths. And here, quitting Mr. Spectator of Pimlico, give me leave to instance the various accounts the news-writers have given us, with so much honest zeal for the welfare of *Poor Old England*, of the establishing manufactures in the colonies to the prejudice of those of the kingdom. It is objected by superficial readers, who yet pretend to some knowledge of those countries, that such establishments are not only improbable, but impossible, for that their sheep have but little wool, not in the whole sufficient for a pair of stockings a year to each inhabitant; that, from the universal dearness of labor among them, the working of iron and other materials, ex-

cept in a few coarse instances, is impracticable to any advantage.

Dear Sir, do not let us suffer ourselves to be amused with such groundless objections. The very tails of the American sheep are so laden with wool, that each has a little car or wagon on four little wheels to support and keep it from trailing on the ground. Would they caulk their ships; would they even litter their horses with wool, if it were not both plenty and cheap? And what signifies the dearness of labor, when an English shilling passes for five and twenty? Their engaging three hundred silk throwsters here in one week for New York was treated as a fable, because, forsooth, they have "no silk there to throw." Those who make this objection perhaps do not know that at the same time the agents from the King of Spain were at Quebec to contract for one thousand pieces of cannon, to be made there for the fortification of Mexico, and at New York engaging the usual supply of woollen floor-carpets for their West India houses; other agents from the emperor of China were at Boston treating about an exchange of raw silk for wool, to be carried in Chinese junks through the Straits of Magellan.

And yet all this is as certainly true as the account, said to be from Quebec, in all the papers of last week, that the inhabitants of Canada are making preparations for a cod and whale fishery this "summer in the upper Lakes." Ignorant people may object that the upper Lakes are fresh, and that cod and whales are salt water fish, but let them know, Sir, that cod,

like other fish, when attacked by their enemies, fly into any water where they can be safest; that whales, when they have a mind to eat cod, pursue them wherever they fly, and that the grand leap of the whale in the chase up the Falls of Niagara is esteemed by all who have seen it as one of the finest spectacles in nature. Really, Sir, the world is grown too incredulous. It is like the pendulum ever swinging from one extreme to another. Formerly every thing printed was believed because it was in print. Now things seem to be disbelieved for just the very same reason. Wise men wonder at the present growth of infidelity. They should have considered when they taught people to doubt the authority of newspapers and the truth of predictions in the almanacs, that the next step might be a disbelief of the well-vouched accounts of ghosts and witches, and doubts even of the truths of the Creed.

Thus much I thought it necessary to say in favor of an honest set of writers whose comfortable living depends on collecting and supplying the printers with news at the small price of sixpence an article, and who always show their regard to truth by contradicting in a subsequent article such as are wrong for another sixpence, to the great satisfaction and improvement of us coffee-house students in history and politics, and all future Livys, Rapins, Robertsons, Humes, and Macaulays, who may be sincerely inclined to furnish the world with that *rara avis*, a true history. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

A TRAVELLER.

# CCLXI.

## TO LORD KAMES, AT EDINBURGH.

LONDON, 2 June, 1765.

In my passage to America I read your excellent work, the *Elements of Criticism*, in which I found great entertainment. I only wished you had examined more fully the subject of music, and demonstrated that the pleasure artists feel in hearing much of that composed in the modern taste, is not the natural pleasure arising from melody or harmony of sounds, but of the same kind with the pleasure we feel on seeing the surprising feats of tumblers and rope-dancers, who execute difficult things. For my part I take this to be really the case, and suppose it to be the reason why those who are unpractised in music, and therefore unacquainted with those difficulties, have little or no pleasure in hearing this music. Many pieces of it are mere compositions of tricks. I have sometimes, at a concert, attended by a common audience, placed myself so as to see all their faces, and observed no signs of pleasure in them during the performance of a great part that was admired by the performers themselves; while a plain old Scotch tune, which they disdained, and could scarcely be prevailed on to play, gave manifest and general delight.

Give me leave, on this occasion, to extend a little the sense of your position, that "melody and harmony are separately agreeable, and in union delightful," and to give it as my opinion, that the reason

why the Scotch tunes have lived so long, and will probably live forever (if they escape being stifled in modern affected ornament), is merely this, that they are really compositions of melody and harmony united, or rather that their melody is harmony. I mean the simple tunes sung by a single voice. As this will appear paradoxical, I must explain my meaning. In common acceptation, indeed, only an agreeable *succession* of sounds is called *melody*, and only the *coexistence* of agreeable sounds, *harmony*. But, since the memory is capable of retaining for some moments a perfect idea of the pitch of a past sound, so as to compare with it the pitch of a succeeding sound, and judge truly of their agreement or disagreement, there may and does arise from thence a sense of harmony between the present and past sounds, equally pleasing with that between two present sounds.

Now the construction of the old Scotch tunes is this, that almost every succeeding emphatical note is a third, a fifth, an octave, or in short some note that is in concord with the preceding note. Thirds are chiefly used, which are very pleasing concords. I use the word *emphatical* to distinguish those notes which have a stress laid on them in singing the tune, from the lighter connecting notes, that serve merely, like grammar articles in common speech, to tack the whole together.

That we have a most perfect idea of a sound just past, I might appeal to all acquainted with music, who know how easy it is to repeat a sound in the same pitch with one just heard. In tuning an instrument,

a good ear can as easily determine that two strings are in unison by sounding them separately, as by sounding them together; their disagreement is also as easily, I believe I may say more easily and better, distinguished, when sounded separately; for when sounded together, though you know by the beating that one is higher than the other, you cannot tell which it is. I have ascribed to memory the ability of comparing the pitch of a present tone with that of one past. But if there should be, as possibly there may be, something in the ear, similar to what we find in the eye, that ability would not be entirely owing to memory. Possibly the vibrations given to the auditory nerves by a particular sound may actually continue some time after the cause of those vibrations is past, and the agreement or disagreement of a subsequent sound become by comparison with them more discernible. For the impression made on the visual nerves by a luminous object will continue for twenty or thirty seconds. Sitting in a room, look earnestly at the middle of a window a little while when the day is bright, and then shut your eyes; the figure of the window will still remain in the eye, and so distinct that you may count the panes.

A remarkable circumstance attending this experiment is, that the impression of forms is better retained than that of colors; for after the eyes are shut, when you first discern the image of the window, the panes appear dark, and the cross bars of the sashes, with the window frames and walls, appear white or bright; but, if you still add to the darkness in the

eyes by covering them with your hand, the reverse instantly takes place, the panes appear luminous and the cross-bars dark. And by removing the hand they are again reversed. This I know not how to account for. Nor for the following: that, after looking long through green spectacles, the white paper of a book will on first taking them off appear to have a blush of red; and, after long looking through red glasses, a greenish cast; this seems to intimate a relation between green and red not yet explained.

Farther, when we consider by whom these ancient tunes were composed, and how they were first performed, we shall see that such harmonical successions of sounds were natural and even necessary in their construction. They were composed by the minstrels of those days to be played on the harp accompanied by the voice. The harp was strung with wire, which gives a sound of long continuance, and had no contrivance like that in the modern harpsichord, by which the sound of the preceding could be stopped, the moment a succeeding note began. To avoid actual discord, it was therefore necessary that the succeeding emphatic note should be a chord with the preceding, as their sounds must exist at the same time. Hence arose that beauty in those tunes that has so long pleased, and will please for ever, though men scarce know why. That they were originally composed for the harp, and of the most simple kind, I mean a harp without any half notes but those in the natural scale, and with no more than two octaves of strings, from C to C, I conjecture from another circumstance, which

is, that not one of those tunes, really ancient, has a single artificial half note in it, and that in tunes where it was most convenient for the voice to use the middle notes of the harp, and place the key in F, there the B, which if used should be a B flat, is always omitted, by passing over it with a third. The connoisseurs in modern music will say, I have no taste; but I cannot help adding, that I believe our ancestors, in hearing a good song, distinctly articulated, sung to one of those tunes, and accompanied by the harp, felt more real pleasure than is communicated by the generality of modern operas, exclusive of that arising from the scenery and dancing. Most tunes of late composition, not having this natural harmony united with their melody, have recourse to the artificial harmony of a bass, and other accompanying parts. This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard James Oswald play them on his violoncello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet, I think, even *his* playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament.

I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.[1]

[1] Mr. Tytler, in his "Life of Lord Kames" (vol. ii., p. 31, 2d ed.) makes the following remarks on the above letter: "This notion of Dr. Franklin's, respecting what he called the Ideal Harmony of the Scottish melodies, is extremely acute, and is marked by that ingenious simplicity in the thought which is the characteristic of a truly philosophic mind. In supplement to his observation, that the past sound, being retained by the memory, forms a concord with the present sound, it may perhaps be added, that, the tympanum of the ear continuing to vibrate for some little time after it is struck by any musical note, the succeeding note will be either agreeable or disagreeable, as it accords, or is in discordance, with the existing vibra-

# CCLXII.

TO LORD KAMES.

LONDON, 2 June, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD:—I received with great pleasure your friendly letter by Mr. Alexander, which I should have answered sooner by some other conveyance, if I had understood that his stay here was like to be so long. I value myself extremely on the continuance of your regard, which I hope hereafter better to deserve, by more punctual returns in the correspondence you honor me with.

You require my history from the time I set sail for America. I left England about the end of August, 1762, in company with ten sail of merchant ships, under a convoy of a man-of-war. We had a pleasant passage to Madeira, where we were kindly received and entertained; our nation being then in high honor with the Portuguese, on account of the protection we were then affording them against the united invasions of France and Spain. It is a fertile island, and the different heights and situations among its mountains afford such temperaments of air, that all the fruits of northern and southern countries are produced there;

tion. Now a succession of notes by thirds and fifths will always find the tympanum in concord, and the last vibration harmonizing with the succeeding. This notion accounts completely for the effect of the Scottish melodies, in giving pleasure alike to an intelligent judge of music, and to a person of uncultivated taste, provided he have a good musical ear; for the pleasure arising from a succession of sounds, in the regular interval of thirds and fifths, and likewise that arising from their concord, is founded in nature, and in the mechanical structure of the organs of hearing, and is altogether independent of custom or acquired taste. A Scottish air will therefore be grateful alike to the ear of a Greenlander, a Japanese, and a native of Italy; if possessed of the musical sense, they will all equally understand and relish it, for it speaks an universal language."—SPARKS.

corn, grapes, apples, peaches, oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, &c. Here we furnished ourselves with fresh provisions, and refreshments of all kinds; and, after a few days, proceeded on our voyage, running southward until we got into the trade winds, and then with them westward, till we drew near the coast of America. The weather was so favorable that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other, and on board of the man-of-war; which made the time pass agreeably, much more so than when one goes in a single ship; for this was like travelling in a moving village, with all one's neighbours about one.

On the 1st of November, I arrived safe and well at my own home, after an absence of near six years; found my wife and daughter well; the latter grown quite a woman, with many amiable accomplishments acquired in my absence; and my friends as hearty and affectionate as ever, with whom my house was filled for many days, to congratulate me on my return. I had been chosen yearly during my absence to represent the city of Philadelphia in our provincial Assembly; and, on my appearance in the House, they voted me three thousand pounds sterling for my services in England, and their thanks, delivered by the Speaker. In February following my son arrived with my new daughter; for, with my consent and approbation, he married soon after I left England a very agreeable West India lady, with whom he is very happy. I accompanied him to his government, where he met with the kindest reception from the

people of all ranks, and has lived with them ever since in the greatest harmony. A river only parts that province and ours, and his residence is within seventeen miles of me, so that we frequently see each other.

In the spring of 1763, I set out on a tour through all the northern Colonies to inspect and regulate the post-offices in the several provinces. In this journey I spent the summer, travelled about sixteen hundred miles, and did not get home till the beginning of November. The Assembly sitting through the following winter, and warm disputes arising between them and the governor, I became wholly engaged in public affairs; for, besides my duty as an Assemblyman, I had another trust to execute, that of being one of the commissioners appointed by law to dispose of the public money appropriated to the raising and paying an army to act against the Indians, and defend the frontiers. And then, in December, we had two insurrections of the back inhabitants of our province, by whom twenty poor Indians were murdered, that had, from the first settlement of the province, lived among us, under the protection of our government. This gave me a good deal of employment; for as the rioters threatened further mischief, and their actions seemed to be approved by an ever-acting party, I wrote a pamphlet entitled "*A Narrative, &c.*" (which I think I sent to you), to strengthen the hands of our weak government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious. This had a good effect; and afterwards, when a great body of them

with arms marched towards the capital, in defiance of the government, with an avowed resolution to put to death one hundred and forty Indian converts then under its protection, I formed an Association at the governor's request, for his and their defence, we having no militia. Near one thousand of our citizens accordingly took arms; Governor Penn made my house for some time his head-quarters, and did every thing by my advice; so that for about forty-eight hours, I was a very great man; as I had been once some years before, in a time of public danger.

But the fighting face we put on, and the reasonings we used with the insurgents (for I went at the request of the governor and council, with three others, to meet and discourse with them), having turned them back and restored quiet to the city, I became a less man than ever; for I had, by this transaction, made myself many enemies among the populace; and the governor (with whose family our public disputes had long placed me in an unfriendly light, and the services I had lately rendered him not being of the kind that make a man acceptable) thinking it a favorable opportunity, joined the whole weight of the proprietary interest to get me out of the Assembly; which was accordingly effected at the last election, by a majority of about twenty-five in four thousand voters. The House, however, when they met in October, approved of the resolutions taken, while I was Speaker,[1] of petitioning the crown for a change

[1] Mr. Isaac Norris, who had long acted as Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, resigned that office on account of ill health, May 26, 1764, and Dr. Franklin was appointed as his successor. He continued Speaker till the Assembly was dissolved in September following.

of government, and requested me to return to England, to prosecute that petition; which service I accordingly undertook, and embarked at the beginning of November last, being accompanied to the ship, sixteen miles, by a cavalcade of three hundred of my friends, who filled our sails with their good wishes, and I arrived in thirty days at London.

Here I have been ever since, engaged in that and other public affairs relating to America, which are likely to continue some time longer upon my hands; but I promise you, that when I am quit of these, I will engage in no other; and that, as soon as I have recovered the ease and leisure I hope for, the task you require of me, of finishing my *Art of Virtue*, shall be performed. In the meantime, I must request you would excuse me on this consideration, that the powers of the mind are possessed by different men in different degrees, and that every one cannot, like Lord Kames, intermix literary pursuits and important business without prejudice to either.

I send you herewith two or three other pamphlets of my writing on our political affairs, during my short residence in America[1]; but I do not insist on your reading them; for I know you employ all your time to some useful purpose. I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you and my other friends in Scotland before I return to America.

[1] These were "A Narrative of the Late Massacres"; "Cool Thoughts"; and the "Preface to Galloway's Speech." See *supra*.

# CCLXIII.

## TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 4 June, 1765.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I have now before me your favors; not so many letters as dates, some of them having two or three. As to the cause concerning the lot, I have never been in the least uneasy about it, desiring only, that justice might be done, which I do not doubt. I hope Robinson was not long missing after your letter, as I really have a great esteem for him. I could have wished to be present at the finishing of the kitchen, as it is a mere machine; and, being new to you, I think you will scarce know how to work it; the several contrivances to carry off steam, smell, and smoke not being fully explained to you. The oven I suppose was put up by the written directions in my former letter. You mention nothing of the furnace. If that iron one is not set, let it alone till my return, when I shall bring a more convenient copper one.

You wonder how I did to travel seventy-two miles in a short winter day, on my landing in England, and think I must have practised flying. But the roads here are so good, with post-chaises and fresh horses every ten or twelve miles, that it is no difficult matter. A lady, that I know, has come from Edinburgh to London, being four hundred miles, in three days and a half. You mention the payment of the £500, but do not say that you have got the deeds executed. I suppose, however, that it was done. I received the

two post-office letters you sent me. It was not letters of that sort alone that I wanted, but all such as were sent to me from any one whomsoever.

I cannot but complain in my mind of Mr. Smith, that the house is so long unfit for you to get into, the fences not put up, nor the other necessary articles ready. The well I expected would have been dug in the winter, or early in the spring, but I hear nothing of it. You should have gardened long before the date of your last, but it seems the rubbish was not removed. I am much obliged to my good old friends, that did me the honor to remember me in the unfinished kitchen. I hope soon to drink with them in the parlour.

I am very thankful to the good ladies you mention for their friendly wishes. Present my best respects to Mrs. Grace, and dear, precious Mrs. Shewell, Mrs. Masters, Mrs. and Miss Galloway, Mrs. Redman, Mrs. Graeme, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Story, Mrs. Bartram, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Hilborne, and all the others you have named to me. My love also to our brothers and sisters, and cousins, as if particularly mentioned. I have delivered yours to Mrs. and Miss Stevenson, Mr. and Mrs. Strahan and their family, Mrs. Empson, Mrs. West, and our country cousins. Miss Graham has not come to town, as I have heard.

It rejoices me to learn, that you are more free than you used to be from the headache, and that pain in your side. I am likewise in perfect health. God is very good to us both in many respects. Let us enjoy his favors with a thankful and cheerful heart; and, as

we can make no direct return to him, show our sense of his goodness to us by continuing to do good to our fellow creatures, without regarding the returns they make us, whether good or bad. For they are all his children, though they may sometimes be our enemies. The friendships of this world are changeable, uncertain, transitory things; but his favor, if we can secure it, is an inheritance for ever. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXIV.

TO PETER FRANKLIN, AT NEWPORT.

[No date.]

DEAR BROTHER:

I like your ballad, and think it well adapted for your purpose of discountenancing expensive foppery, and encouraging industry and frugality. If you can get it generally sung in your country, it may probably have a good deal of the effect you hope and expect from it. But as you aimed at making it general, I wonder you chose so uncommon a measure in poetry, that none of the tunes in common use will suit it. Had you fitted it to an old one, well known, it must have spread much faster than I doubt it will do from the best new tune we can get composed for it. I think, too, that if you had given it to some country girl in the heart of the Massachusetts, who has never heard any other than psalm tunes, or *Chevy Chace*, the *Children in the Wood*, the *Spanish Lady*, and such old simple ditties, but has naturally a good

ear, she might more probably have made a pleasing popular tune for you than any of our masters here, and more proper for your purpose, which would best be answered, if every word could as it is sung be understood by all that hear it, and if the emphasis you intend for particular words could be given by the singer as well as by the reader; much of the force and impression of the song depending on those circumstances. I will, however, get it as well done for you as I can.

Do not imagine that I mean to depreciate the skill of our composers of music here; they are admirable at pleasing *practised* ears, and know how to delight *one another;* but, in composing for songs, the reigning taste seems to be quite out of nature, or rather the reverse of nature, and yet, like a torrent, hurries them all away with it; one or two perhaps only excepted.

You, in the spirit of some ancient legislators, would influence the manners of your country by the united powers of poetry and music. By what I can learn of *their* songs, the music was simple, conformed itself to the usual pronunciation of words, as to measure, cadence, or emphasis, &c., never disguised and confounded the language by making a long syllable short, or a short one long, when sung; their singing was only a more pleasing, because a melodious manner of speaking; it was capable of all the graces of prose oratory, while it added the pleasure of harmony. A modern song, on the contrary, neglects all the proprieties and beauties of common speech, and in their

place introduces its *defects* and *absurdities* as so many graces. I am afraid you will hardly take my word for this, and therefore I must endeavour to support it by proof. Here is the first song I lay my hand on. It happens to be a composition of one of our greatest masters, the ever-famous Handel. It is not one of his juvenile performances, before his taste could be improved and formed; it appeared when his reputation was at the highest, is greatly admired by all his admirers, and is really excellent in its kind. It is called, "The additional favorite Song in Judas Maccabeus." Now I reckon among the defects and improprieties of common speech the following, viz.:

1. *Wrong placing the accent or emphasis*, by laying it on words of no importance, or on wrong syllables.

2. *Drawling;* or extending the sound of words or syllables beyond their natural length.

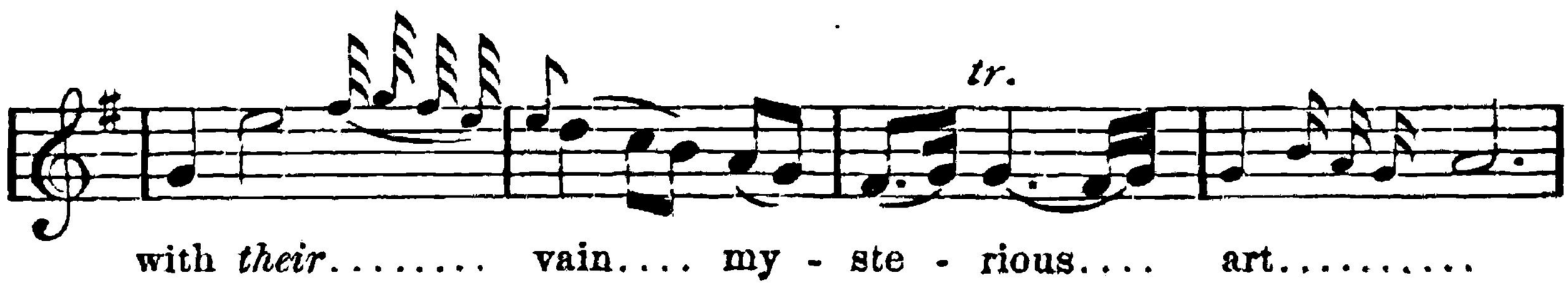
3. *Stuttering;* or making many syllables of one.

4. *Unintelligibleness;* the result of the three foregoing united.

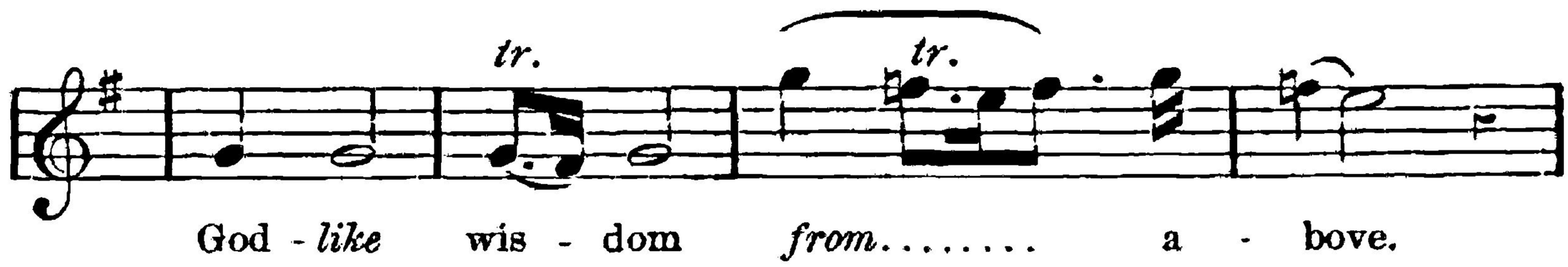
5. *Tautology;* and

6. *Screaming* without cause.

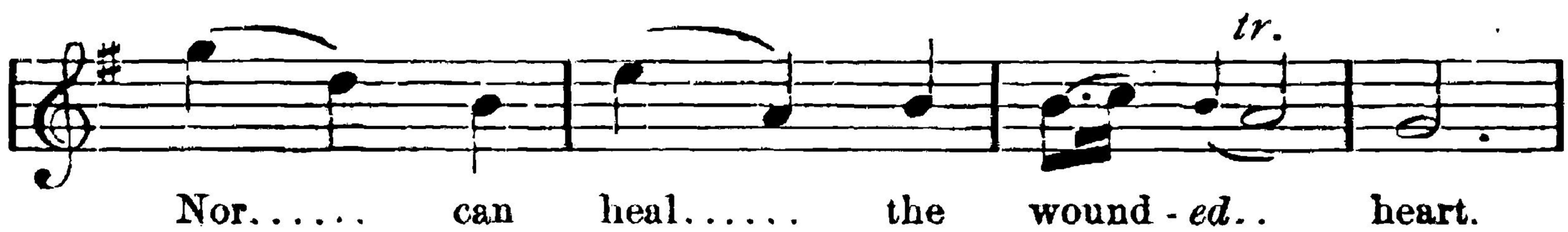
For the *wrong placing of the accent, or emphasis*, see it on the word *their* instead of being on the word *vain.*




And on the word *from*, and the wrong syllable *like.*

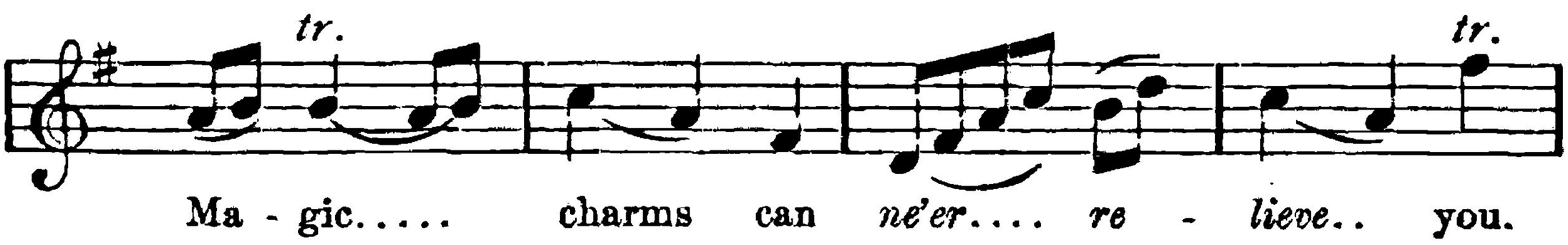



For the *drawling*, see the last syllable of the word *wounded.*




And in the syllable *wis*, and the word *from*, and syllable *bove.*

For the *stuttering*, see the words *ne'er relieve*, in



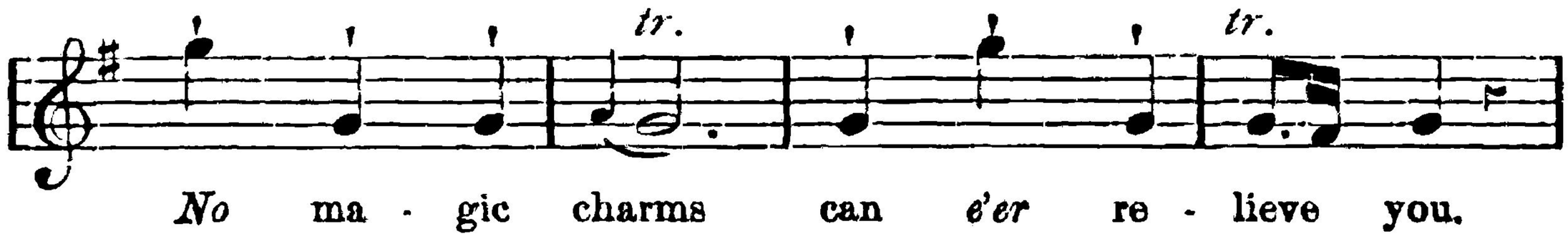

Here are four syllables made of one, and eight of three; but this is moderate. I have seen in another song, that I cannot now find, seventeen syllables made of three, and sixteen of one. The latter I remember was the word *charms;* viz., *cha, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, arms.* Stammering with a witness!

For the *unintelligibleness*, give this whole song to any taught singer, and let her sing it to any company

that have never heard it. You shall find they will not understand three words in ten. It is therefore that, at the oratorios and operas, one sees with books in their hands all those who desire to understand what they hear sung by even our best performers.

For the *tautology*, you have, *with their vain mysterious art*, twice repeated; *magic charms can ne'er relieve you*, three times. *Nor can heal the wounded heart*, three times. *Godlike wisdom from above*, twice; and *this alone can ne'er deceive you*, two or three times. But this is reasonable when compared with *the Monster Polypheme, the Monster Polypheme*, a hundred times over and over in his admired *Acis and Galatea*.

As to the *screaming*, perhaps I cannot find a fair instance in this song; but whoever has frequented our operas will remember many. And yet here methinks the words *no* and *e'er*, when sung to these notes, have a little of the air of *screaming*, and would actually be screamed by some singers.




I send you enclosed the song with its music at length. Read the words without the repetitions. Observe how few they are, and what a shower of notes attend them; you will then perhaps be inclined to think with me that, though the words might be the principal part of an ancient song, they are of

small importance in a modern one. They are, in short, only a *pretence for singing*.

I am, as ever,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I might have mentioned *inarticulation* among the defects in common speech that are assumed as beauties in modern singing. But as that seems more the fault of the singer than of the composer, I omitted it in what related merely to the composition. The fine singer, in the present mode, stifles all the hard consonants, and polishes away all the rougher parts of words that serve to distinguish them one from another; so that you hear nothing but an admirable pipe, and understand no more of the song than you would from its tune played on any other instrument. If ever it was the ambition of musicians to make instruments that should imitate the human voice, that ambition seems now reversed, the voice aiming to be like an instrument. Thus wigs were first made to imitate a good natural head of hair; but when they became fashionable, though in unnatural forms, we have seen natural hair dressed to look like wigs.

## CCLXV.

TO HUGH ROBERTS.

LONDON, 7 July, 1765.

DEAR FRIEND:—Your kind favor of May 20th, by the hand of our good friend Mr. Neave, gave me great pleasure. I find, on those occasions, that ex-

pressions of steady, continued friendship, such as are contained in your letter, though but from one or a few honest and sensible men, who have long known us, afford a satisfaction that far outweighs the clamorous abuse of a thousand knaves and fools. While I enjoy the share I have so long had in the esteem of my old friends, the bird-and-beast people you mention may peck, and snarl, and bark at me as much as they think proper. There is only some danger, that I should grow too vain on their disapprobation.

I am pleased with your punning, not merely because I like punning in general, but because I learn from your using it, that you are in good health and spirits, which I pray may long continue. Our affairs are at a total stop here, by the present unsettled state of the ministry, but will go forward again as soon as that is fixed. Nothing yet appears that is discouraging.

I have not yet found an engraver that will do our seal well and reasonably. Kirk asked me twenty guineas, and some others a little less. I think we had better content ourselves with the old one; but shall inquire further.[1] Remember me respectfully and affectionately to your good dame and children, and accept my thanks for your kind visits to my little family in my absence.

I wish you would continue to meet the Junto, notwithstanding that some effects of our public political

[1] On the 20th of August he wrote: "I informed you lately, that twenty guineas were demanded by Kirk for engraving the Hospital seal. I have since found a man that will do it for ten, but I suppose will hardly do it so well. Let me know your sentiments of this expense."

misunderstandings may sometimes appear there. It is now perhaps one of the *oldest* clubs, as I think it was formerly one of the *best*, in the King's dominions. It wants but about two years of forty since it was established. We loved and still love one another; we are grown gray together, and yet it is too early to part. Let us sit till the evening of life is spent. The last hours are always the most joyous. When we can stay no longer, it is time enough then to bid each other good night, separate, and go quietly to bed. Adieu, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXVI.

TO CHARLES THOMSON.

LONDON, 11 July, 1765.

DEAR FRIEND:—I am extremely obliged by your kind letters of April 12th and 14th, and thank you for the intelligence they contain. The outrages continually committed by those misguided people will doubtless tend to convince all the considerate on your side of the water of the weakness of our present government, and the necessity of a change. I am sure it will contribute towards hastening that change here, so that, upon the whole, good will be brought out of evil; and yet I grieve to hear of such horrid disorders. The letters and accounts boasted of from the Proprietor, of his being sure of his retaining the government, as well as those of the sums offered for it, which the people will be obliged to pay, &c., are all idle tales, fit only for

knaves to propagate, and fools to believe. A little time will dissipate all the smoke they can raise to conceal the real state of things.

The unsettled state of the ministry, ever since the Parliament rose, has stopped all proceeding in public affairs, and ours amongst the rest; but, change being now made, we shall immediately proceed, and with a greater cheerfulness, as some we had reason to doubt of are removed, and some particular friends are put in place. What you mentioned of the Lower Counties is undoubtedly right. Had they ever sent their laws home,[1] as they ought to have done, that iniquitous one of priority of payment to residents would undoubtedly have been repealed. But the end of all these things is nigh; at least it seems to be so.

The spiking of the guns was an audacious piece of villany, by whomsoever done. It shows the necessity of a regular enclosed place of defence, with a constant guard to take care of what belongs to it, which, when the country can afford it, will, I hope, be provided.

Depend upon it, my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned and interested than myself, to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of independence,[2] and all parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is

[1] By *home* here is meant England, a common use of the word before the Revolution.

[2] Claims to an independence of Parliament, in regard to the power of taxing the colonists without their consent.

down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us. Idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments. If we can get rid of the former, we may easily bear the latter.[1]

My best respects to Mrs. Thomson. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXVII.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 13 July, 1765.

MY DEAR CHILD :—I had the great pleasure of hearing from you and Sally last night by the packet. I cannot now answer every particular of your letters, having many to write that are to go by this day's mail, but will by the next opportunity. Mrs. Steven-

[1] In the Sparks' editions of Franklin's works this sentence reads : "If we can get rid of the former, we may easily *get rid of the latter.*" Referring to this sentence, Mr. Bancroft, at p. 306 of the fifth volume of the first edition of his "History of the United States," says :

"For the opportunity of printing the above paragraph correctly in Franklin's own words, I am indebted to Mrs. Chamberlain, of Newark, Delaware, who has the original in her possession. The copy was made for me with the utmost exactness, by Mr. A. H. Grimshaw of Wilmington, and carefully compared with the original by Mr. Grimshaw and one of his friends. There is another version in circulation which makes Franklin say : 'Idleness and pride tax us with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments. If we can get rid of the former, we can get rid of the latter.'

"This is not what Franklin wrote. To '*bear*' with kings and parliaments and to '*get rid of*' kings and parliaments are very different things. Franklin was long-suffering and waited some years yet before he advised to get rid of kings. He himself printed a part of this letter, but with amplifications, in the London *Chronicle* of Nov. 14 to 16, 1765, from which it was copied into Weyman's New York *Gazette* of February 3, and other papers. In all of them, as well as the letter itself, the words are, '*bear the latter*' and '*get rid*' of the former."

son bids me tell Sally, that the striped gown I have sent her will wash, but it must be with a light hand. I am glad to hear of Captain Robinson's arrival, and it gives me pleasure that so many of my friends honoured our new dining-room with their company. You tell me of a fault they found with the house, that it was too little, and not a word of any thing they liked in it, nor how the kitchen chimneys perform; so I suppose you spare me some mortification, which is kind. I wonder you put up the oven without Mr. Roberts's advice, as I think you told me he had my old letter of directions; but I can add no more, only that I am very well and in good spirits. I wrote you largely by Captain Friend, and sent a case with a number of particulars. My love to all. Your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXVIII.

### LETTER CONCERNING THE GRATITUDE OF AMERICA, AND THE PROBABILITY AND EFFECTS OF A UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN; AND CONCERNING THE REPEAL OR SUSPENSION OF THE STAMP ACT.

[LONDON,] January 6, 1766.

SIR:—I have attentively perused the paper you sent me, and am of opinion that the measure it proposes, of an union with the colonies, is a wise one; but I doubt it will hardly be thought so here, till it is too late to attempt it. The time has been, when the colonies would have esteemed it a great advantage, as well as honor, to be permitted to send members to Parliament; and would have asked for that privilege,

if they could have had the least hopes of obtaining it. The time is now come when they are indifferent about it, and will probably not ask it, though they might accept it if offered them; and the time will come, when they will certainly refuse it. But if such an union were now established (which methinks it highly imports this country to establish) it would probably subsist as long as Britain shall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud, and too much despises the Americans, to bear the thought of admitting them to such an equitable participation in the government of the whole.

Then the next best thing seems to be, leaving them in the quiet enjoyment of their respective constitutions; and when money is wanted for any public service, in which they ought to bear a part, calling upon them by requisitorial letters from the crown (according to the long-established custom) to grant such aids as their loyalty shall dictate, and their abilities permit. The very sensible and benevolent author of that paper seems not to have known, that such a constitutional custom subsists, and has always hitherto been practised in America; or he would not have expressed himself in this manner: "It is evident, beyond a doubt, to the intelligent and impartial, that after the very extraordinary efforts, which were effectually made by Great Britain in the late war to save the colonists from destruction, and attended of necessity with an enormous load of debts in consequence, that the same colonists, now firmly secured from foreign enemies, should be somehow in-

duced to contribute some proportion towards the exigencies of state in future." This looks as if he conceived the war had been carried on at the sole expense of Great Britain, and the colonies only reaped the benefit, without hitherto sharing the burden, and were therefore now indebted to Britain on that account. And this is the same kind of argument that is used by those who would fix on the colonies the heavy charge of unreasonableness and ingratitude, which I think your friend did not intend.

Please to acquaint him, then, that the fact is not so; that, every year during the war, requisitions were made by the crown on the colonies for raising money and men; that accordingly they made more extraordinary efforts, in proportion to their abilities, than Britain did; that they raised, paid, and clothed, for five or six years, near twenty-five thousand men, besides providing for other services, as building forts, equipping guard-ships, paying transports, &c. And that this was more than their fair proportion is not merely an opinion of mine, but was the judgment of government here, in full knowledge of all the facts; for the then ministry, to make the burden more equal, recommended the case to Parliament, and obtained a reimbursement to the Americans of about two hundred thousand pounds sterling every year; which amounted only to about two fifths of their expense; and great part of the rest lies still a load of debt upon them; heavy taxes on all their estates, real and personal, being laid by acts of their assemblies to discharge it, and yet will not discharge it in many years.

While, then, these burdens continue; while Britain restrains the colonies in every branch of commerce and manufactures that she thinks interferes with her own; while she drains the colonies, by her trade with them, of all the cash they can procure by every art and industry in any part of the world, and thus keeps them always in her debt (for they can make no law to discourage the importation of your to *them* ruinous superfluities, as *you* do the superfluities of France; since such a law would immediately be reported against by your Board of Trade, and repealed by the crown); I say, while these circumstances continue, and while there subsists the established method of royal requisitions for raising money on them by their own assemblies on every proper occasion; can it be necessary or prudent to distress and vex them by taxes laid here, in a Parliament wherein they have no representative, and in a manner which they look upon to be unconstitutional and subversive of their most valuable rights? And are they to be thought unreasonable and ungrateful if they oppose such taxes?

Wherewith, they say, shall we show our loyalty to our gracious King, if our money is to be given by others, without asking our consent? And, if the Parliament has a right thus to take from us a penny in the pound, where is the line drawn that bounds that right, and what shall hinder their calling, whenever they please, for the other nineteen shillings and eleven pence? Have we then any thing that we can call our own? It is more than probable, that bringing representatives from the colonies to sit and act

here as members of Parliament, thus uniting and consolidating your dominions, would in a little time remove these objections and difficulties, and make the future government of the colonies easy; but, till some such thing is done, I apprehend no taxes, laid there by Parliament here, will ever be collected, but such as must be stained with blood; and I am sure the profit of such taxes will never answer the expense of collecting them, and that the respect and affection of the Americans to this country will in the struggle be totally lost, perhaps never to be recovered; and therewith all the commercial and political advantages, that might have attended the continuance of this respect and this affection.

In my own private judgment, I think an immediate repeal of the Stamp Act would be the best measure for this country; but a suspension of it for three years, the best for that. The repeal would fill them with joy and gratitude, reëstablish their respect and veneration for Parliament, restore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it; hence the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their new-assumed home industry would languish. But the suspension, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would at the same time keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. However, as the repeal will probably not be now agreed

to,[1] from what I think a mistaken opinion, that the honor and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered; we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries is the suspension; for, as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole.

The rest of your friend's reasonings and propositions appear to me truly just and judicious. I will therefore only add, that I am as desirous of his acquaintance and intimacy as he was of my opinion.

I am, with much esteem,

Your obliged friend,

B. FRANKLIN.[2]

# CCLXIX.

## THE EXAMINATION OF DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, RELATIVE TO THE REPEAL OF THE AMERICAN STAMP ACT, IN 1766.[3]

From the journal of the House of Commons, as given by Mr. Vaughan.

"*February 3, 1766.* Benjamin Franklin and a number of other persons ordered to attend the committee of the whole House, to

[1] It was, however, agreed to in the same year, viz., in 1766.—B. V.

[2] The name of the person to whom this letter is addressed is not known. The letter, to which it is a reply, appears to have contained the letter of some third person equally unknown. —B. V.

[3] As soon as the Stamp Act was promulgated in the colonies, a cloud of petitions from their various assemblies was showered upon Parliament for its repeal. The stamped paper was rejected as if it were poisoned; vessels were forbidden to land it; the distributors were compelled to resign their commissions; Hughes dared not show himself on the streets, nor did Franklin entirely escape. A caricature of the period represents the Devil whis-

whom it was referred to consider farther the several papers, which were presented to the House by Mr. Secretary Conway.

"*February 13th.* Benjamin Franklin, having passed through his examination, was excepted from farther attendance.

"*February 24th.* The resolutions of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. Fuller; their seventh and last resolution, setting forth that it was their opinion that the House be moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the Stamp Act."

The account of the examination was first published in 1767, without the name of printer or publisher. It was translated into

pering in his ear: "Ben, you shall be my agent throughout my dominions." His house and family even were supposed at one time to be in peril from the mob, as appears by the following extract from a letter written him by his wife on the 22d September:

"You will see by the papers what work has happened in other places, and something has been said relative to raising a mob in this place. I was for nine days kept in a continual hurry by people to remove; and Sally was persuaded to go to Burlington [the residence of her brother, the governor] for safety; but, on Monday last, we had very great rejoicing on account of the change in the ministry, and a preparation for bonfires at night, and several houses threatened to be pulled down.

"Cousin Davenport came and told me that more than twenty people had told him it was his duty to be with us. I said I was pleased to receive civility from any body, so he staid with me some time. Towards night I said he should fetch a gun or two, as we had none. I sent to ask my brother to come, and bring his gun also, so we [turned] one room into a magazine; I ordered some sort of defence up-stairs, such as I could manage myself. I said when I was advised to remove, that I was very sure you had done nothing to anybody, nor had I given any offence to any person at all, nor would I be uneasy by anybody, nor would I stir or show the least uneasiness, but if any one came to disturb me, I should show a proper resentment, and I should be very much affronted with anybody.

"Sally was gone with Miss Rose to see Captain Real's daughter, and heard the report there, and came home to be with me; but I had sent her word not to come. I was told there were eight hundred men ready to assist any one that should be molested.

"Billy [the Governor of New Jersey] came down to ask us up to Burlington. I consented to Sally's going, but I will not stir, as I really don't think it would be right for me to show the least uneasiness at all.

"It is Mr. Samuel Smith that is setting the people mad by telling them it was you that had planned the Stamp Act, and that you are endeavoring to get the Test Act brought over here."

Such was the state of affairs in America when the subject was again brought before Parliament in the beginning of '66, the Marquis of Rockingham having displaced Mr. Grenville.

The new ministers resolved to recommend a repeal of the Stamp Act. While the question was under debate in Parliament, a motion which probably originated with the ministers who were not striving to effect a repeal of the act, was adopted, that Franklin be called before the House, and examined respecting the state of affairs in America. This is the report of his examination.—EDITOR.

French, and widely circulated in Europe. It has been frequently reprinted in both the English and French languages.—EDITOR.

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*Q.* What is your name, and place of abode?

*A.* Franklin, of Philadelphia.

*Q.* Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

*A.* Certainly, many and very heavy taxes.

*Q.* What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the colony?

*A.* There are taxes on all estates, real and personal; a poll tax; a tax on all offices, professions, trades, and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all negroes imported, with some other duties.

*Q.* For what purposes are those taxes laid?

*A.* For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last war.

*Q.* How long are those taxes to continue?

*A.* Those for discharging the debt are to continue till 1772, and longer, if the debt should not be then all discharged. The others must always continue.

*Q.* Was it not expected that the debt would have been sooner discharged?

*A.* It was, when the peace was made with France and Spain. But a fresh war breaking out with the Indians, a fresh load of debt was incurred; and the taxes, of course, continued longer by a new law.

*Q.* Are not all the people very able to pay those taxes?

*A.* No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, having been frequently ravaged by the enemy and greatly impoverished, are able to pay very little tax. And therefore, in consideration of their distresses, our late tax laws do expressly favor those counties, excusing the sufferers; and I suppose the same is done in other governments.

*Q.* Are not you concerned in the management of the post-office in America?

*A.* Yes. I am deputy-postmaster-general of North America.

*Q.* Don't you think the distribution of stamps by post to all the inhabitants very practicable, if there was no opposition?

*A.* The posts only go along the sea-coasts: they do not, except in a few instances, go back into the country; and, if they did, sending for stamps by post would occasion an expense of postage amounting in many cases to much more than that of the stamps themselves.

*Q.* Are you acquainted with Newfoundland?

*A.* I never was there.

*Q.* Do you know whether there are any post-roads on that island?

*A.* I have heard that there are no roads at all, but that the communication between one settlement and another is by sea only.

*Q.* Can you disperse the stamps by post in Canada?

*A.* There is only a post between Montreal and Quebec. The inhabitants live so scattered and re-

mote from each other in that vast country, that posts cannot be supported among them, and therefore they cannot get stamps per post. The English colonies, too, along the frontiers are very thinly settled.

*Q.* From the thinness of the back settlements would not the Stamp Act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

*A.* To be sure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get stamps when they had occasion for them without taking long journeys, and spending perhaps three or four pounds, that the crown might get sixpence.

*Q.* Are not the colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp duty?

*A.* In my opinion there is not gold and silver enough in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year.[1]

*Q.* Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in America?

*A.* I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered colonies, where the soldiers are; not in the colonies that pay it.

[1] The Stamp Act said: "that the Americans shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase, nor grant, nor recover debts; they shall neither marry nor make their wills, unless they pay such and such sums" in *specie* for the stamps which must give validity to the proceedings. The operation of such a tax, had it obtained the consent of the people, appeared inevitable; and its annual productiveness, on its introduction, was estimated, by its proposer in the House of Commons at the committee for supplies, at one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The colonies being already reduced to the necessity of having *paper* money, by sending to Britain the specie they collected in foreign trade, in order to make up for the deficiency of their other returns for British manufactures, there were doubts whether there could remain *specie* sufficient to answer the tax.—B. V.

*Q.* Is there not a balance of trade due from the colonies where the troops are posted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

*A.* I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back. I think it would come, from the colonies where it was spent, directly to England; for I have always observed, that in every colony the more plenty the means of remittance to England, the more goods are sent for, and the more trade with England carried on.

*Q.* What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Pennsylvania?

*A.* I suppose there may be about one hundred and sixty thousand.

*Q.* What number of them are Quakers?

*A.* Perhaps a third.

*Q.* What number of Germans?

*A.* Perhaps another third; but I cannot speak with certainty.

*Q.* Have any number of the Germans seen service, as soldiers, in Europe?

*A.* Yes, many of them, both in Europe and America.

*Q.* Are they as much dissatisfied with the stamp duty as the English?

*A.* Yes, and more; and with reason, as their stamps are, in many cases, to be double.[1]

[1] The Stamp Act provided that a double duty should be laid "where the instrument, proceedings, &c., shall be engrossed, written, or printed within the said colonies and plantations, in any other than the English language." This measure, it is presumed, appeared to be suggested by motives of convenience, and the policy of assimilating persons of foreign to those of British descent, and preventing their interference in the conduct of law business till this change should be affected. It seems, however, to have been deemed too precipitate, immediately to extend this clause to newly

*Q.* How many white men do you suppose there are in North America?

*A.* About three hundred thousand, from sixteen to sixty years of age.[1]

*Q.* What may be the amount of one year's imports into Pennsylvania from Britain?

*A.* I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from Britain to be above five hundred thousand pounds.

*Q.* What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to Britain?

*A.* It must be small, as we produce little that is wanted in Britain. I suppose it cannot exceed forty thousand pounds.

*Q.* How then do you pay the balance?

*A.* The balance is paid by our produce carried to the West Indies, and sold in our own islands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes, and Dutch; by the same produce carried to other colonies in North America, as to New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia; by the same, carried to different parts of Europe, as Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In all which places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the industry of our merchants and mariners,

conquered countries. An exemption therefore was granted, in this particular, with respect to Canada and Grenada, for the space of five years, to be reckoned from the commencement of the duty. See the Stamp Act. —B. V.

[1] Strangers excluded, some parts of the northern colonies doubled their numbers in fifteen or sixteen years; to the southward they were longer; but, taking one with another, they had doubled, by natural generation only, once in twenty-five years. Pennsylvania, including strangers, had doubled in about sixteen years.—B. V.

arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships, centre finally in Britain to discharge the balance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the provinces, or sold to foreigners by our traders.

*Q.* Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the Spanish trade?

*A.* Yes; I have heard that it has been greatly obstructed by some new regulations, and by the English men-of-war and cutters stationed all along the coast in America.

*Q.* Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country and pay no part of the expense?

*A.* That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed, and paid, during the last war, near twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions.

*Q.* Were you not reimbursed by Parliament?

*A.* We were only reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reasonably be expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about five hundred thousand pounds, and the reimbursements, in the whole, did not exceed sixty thousand pounds.

*Q.* You have said that you pay heavy taxes in Pennsylvania; what do they amount to in the pound?

*A.* The tax on all estates, real and personal, is eighteen pence in the pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and professions, with other taxes, do, I suppose, make full half a crown in the pound.

*Q.* Do you know any thing of the rate of exchange in Pennsylvania, and whether it has fallen lately?

*A.* It is commonly from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and seventy-five. I have heard that it has fallen lately from one hundred and seventy-five to one hundred and sixty-two and a half; owing, I suppose, to their lessening their orders for goods; and when their debts to this country are paid, I think the exchange will probably be at par.

*Q.* Do you not think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?

*A.* No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

*Q.* Are not the taxes in Pennsylvania laid on unequally, in order to burden the English trade; particularly the tax on professions and business?

*A.* It is not more burdensome in proportion than the tax on lands. It is intended and supposed to take an equal proportion of profits.

*Q.* How is the assembly composed? Of what kinds of people are the members; landholders or traders?

*A.* It is composed of landholders, merchants, and artificers.

*Q.* Are not the majority landholders?

*A.* I believe they are.

*Q.* Do not they, as much as possible, shift the tax off from the land, to ease that, and lay the burden heavier on trade?

*A.* I have never understood it so. I never heard such a thing suggested. And indeed an attempt of that kind could answer no purpose. The merchant or trader is always skilled in figures, and ready with

his pen and ink. If unequal burdens are laid on his trade, he puts an additional price on his goods; and the consumers, who are chiefly landholders, finally pay the greatest part, if not the whole.

*Q.* What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?[1]

*A.* The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in their courts, obedience to the acts of Parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper; they were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for great Britain; for its laws, its customs and

[1] In the year 1733, "for the welfare and prosperity of our sugar colonies in America," and "for remedying discouragements of planters," duties were "*given and granted*" to George the Second, upon all rum, spirits, molasses, syrups, sugar, and paneles of foreign growth, produce, and manufacture, imported into the colonies. This *regulation of trade*, for the benefit of the general empire was acquiesced in, notwithstanding the introduction of the novel terms "give and grant." But the act, which was made only for the term of five years, and had been several times renewed in the reign of George the Second, and once in the reign of George the Third, was renewed again in the year 1763, in the reign of George the Third, and *extended to other articles upon new and altered grounds.* It was stated in the preamble to this act, "that it was expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for *improving the revenue of this kingdom*"; that it "was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised in America for defending, protecting, and securing the same"; "and that the Commons of Great Britain, desirous of making some provision towards *raising the said revenue* in America, have resolved to *give* and *grant* to his Majesty the several rates and duties," &c. Mr. Mauduit, agent for Massachusetts Bay, tells us, that he was instructed in the following terms to oppose Mr. Grenville's taxing system. "You are to remonstrate against these measures, and, if possible, to obtain a repeal of the Sugar Act, and prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on the colonies. Measures will be taken that you may be joined by all the other agents. *Boston, June 14th, 1764.*"

The question proposed to Dr. Franklin alludes to this sugar act in 1763. Dr. Franklin's answer particularly merits the attention of the historian and politician.—B. V.

manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard. To be an *Old-England* man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

*Q.* And what is their temper now?

*A.* O, very much altered.

*Q.* Did you ever hear the authority of Parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

*A.* The authority of Parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

*Q.* In what proportion hath population increased in America?

*A.* I think the inhabitants of all the provinces together, taken at a medium, double in about twenty-five years. But their demand for British manufactures increases much faster, as the consumption is not merely in proportion to their numbers, but grows with the growing abilities of the same numbers to pay for them. In 1723 the whole importation from Britain to Pennsylvania was about fifteen thousand pounds sterling. It is now near half a million.

*Q.* In what light did the people of America use to consider the Parliament of Great Britain?

*A.* They considered the Parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration. Arbitrary ministers, they thought, might possibly at times attempt to oppress them; but they

relied on it that the Parliament, on application, would always give redress. They remembered, with gratitude, a strong instance of this when a bill was brought into Parliament with a clause to make royal instructions laws in the colonies, which the House of Commons would not pass, and it was thrown out.

*Q.* And have they not still the same respect for Parliament?

*A.* No, it is greatly lessened.

*Q.* To what cause is that owing?

*A.* To a concurrence of causes; the restraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and silver into the colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper money among themselves, and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps, taking away at the same time trials by juries, and refusing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

*Q.* Don't you think they would submit to the Stamp Act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars of small moment?

*A.* No, they will never submit to it.

*Q.* What do you think is the reason the people in America increase faster than in England?

*A.* Because they marry younger, and more generally.

*Q.* Why so?

*A.* Because any young couple that are industrious, may easily obtain land of their own, on which they can raise a family.

*Q.* Are not the lower ranks of people more at their ease in America than in England?

*A.* They may be so, if they are sober and diligent, as they are better paid for their labor.

*Q.* What is your opinion of a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the Stamp Act? How would the Americans receive it?

*A.* Just as they do this. They would not pay it.

*Q.* Have not you heard of the resolutions of this House, and of the House of Lords, asserting the right of Parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?

*A.* Yes, I have heard of such resolutions.

*Q.* What will be the opinion of the Americans on those resolutions?

*A.* They will think them unconstitutional and unjust.

*Q.* Was it an opinion in America before 1763, that the Parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?

A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but the right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in Parliament, as we are not represented there.

*Q.* On what do you found your opinion, that the people in America made any such distinction.

*A.* I know that whenever the subject has occurred in conversation where I have been present, it has appeared to be the opinion of every one, that we could not be taxed by a Parliament wherein we were not represented. But the payment of duties laid by

an act of Parliament, as regulations of commerce, was never disputed.

*Q.* But can you name any act of assembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made such distinction?

*A.* I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occasion to make any such act, till now that you have attempted to tax us; that has occasioned resolutions of assembly, declaring the distinction, in which I think every assembly on the continent, and every member in every assembly, have been unanimous.

*Q.* What, then, could occasion conversations on that subject before that time?

*A.* There was in 1754 a proposition made, (I think it came from hence,) that in case of a war, which was then apprehended, the governors of the colonies should meet, and order the levying of troops, building of forts, and taking every other measure for the general defence; and should draw on the treasury here for the sums expended, which were afterwards to be raised in the colonies by a general tax, to be laid on them by *act of Parliament.* This occasioned a good deal of conversation on the subject; and the general opinion was, that the Parliament neither would nor could lay any tax on us, till we were duly represented in Parliament; because it was not just, nor agreeable to the nature of an English constitution.

*Q.* Don't you know there was a time in New York, when it was under consideration to make an applica-

tion to Parliament to lay taxes on that colony, upon a deficiency arising from the assembly's refusing or neglecting to raise the necessary supplies for the support of the civil government?

*A.* I never heard of it.

*Q.* There was such an application under consideration in New York; and do you apprehend they could suppose the right of Parliament to lay a tax in America was only local, and confined to the case of a deficiency in a particular colony, by a refusal of its assembly to raise the necessary supplies?

*A.* They could not suppose such a case, as that the assembly would not raise the necessary supplies to support its own government. An assembly that would refuse it must want common sense; which cannot be supposed. I think there was never any such case at New York, and that it must be a misrepresentation, or the fact must be misunderstood. I know there have been some attempts, by ministerial instructions from hence, to oblige the assemblies to settle permanent salaries on governors, which they wisely refused to do; but I believe no assembly of New York, or any other colony, ever refused duly to support government by proper allowances, from time to time, to public officers.

*Q.* But, in case a governor, acting by instruction, should call on an assembly to raise the necessary supplies, and the assembly should refuse to do it, do you not think it would then be for the good of the people of the colony, as well as necessary to government, that the Parliament should tax them?

*A.* I do not think it would be necessary. If an assembly could possibly be so absurd, as to refuse raising the supplies requisite for the maintenance of government among them, they could not long remain in such a situation; the disorders and confusion occasioned by it must soon bring them to reason.

*Q.* If it should not, ought not the right to be in Great Britain of applying a remedy?

*A.* A right, only to be used in such a case, I should have no objection to; supposing it to be used merely for the good of the people of the colony.

*Q.* But who is to judge of that, Britain or the colony?

*A.* Those that feel can best judge.

*Q.* You say the colonies have always submitted to external taxes, and object to the right of Parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you show that there is any kind of difference between the two taxes to the colony on which they may be laid?

*A.* I think the difference is very great. An *external* tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the first cost and other charges on the commodity, and, when it is offered to sale, makes a part of the price. If the people do not like it at that price, they refuse it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an *internal* tax is forced from the people without their consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The Stamp Act says, we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase, nor grant, nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay

such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it.

*Q.* But supposing the external tax or duty to be laid on the necessaries of life imported into your colony, will not that be the same thing in its effects as an internal tax?

*A.* I do not know a single article imported into the northern colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themselves.

*Q.* Don't you think cloth from England absolutely necessary to them?

*A.* No, by no means absolutely necessary; with industry and good management they may very well supply themselves with all they want.

*Q.* Will it not take a long time to establish that manufacture among them; and must they not in the meanwhile suffer greatly?

*A.* I think not. They have made a surprising progress already. And I am of opinion that before their old clothes are worn out they will have new ones of their own making.

*Q.* Can they possibly find wool enough in North America?

*A.* They have taken steps to increase the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb; and very few lambs were killed last year. This course, persisted in, will soon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. And the establishing of great manufactories, like those in the clothing towns here, is not necessary, as it is where

the business is to be carried on for the purposes of trade. The people will all spin and work for themselves in their own houses.

*Q.* Can there be wool and manufacture enough in one or two years?

*A.* In three years, I think there may.

*Q.* Does not the severity of the winter, in the northern colonies, occasion the wool to be of bad quality?

*A.* No; the wool is very fine and good.

*Q.* In the more southern colonies, as in Virginia, don't you know that the wool is coarse and only a kind of hair?

*A.* I don't know it. I never heard it. Yet I have been sometimes in Virginia. I cannot say I ever took particular notice of the wool there, but I believe it is good, though I cannot speak positively of it; but Virginia and the colonies south of it have less occasion for wool; their winters are short, and not very severe; and they can very well clothe themselves with linen and cotton of their own raising for the rest of the year.

*Q.* Are not the people in the more northern colonies obliged to fodder their sheep all the winter?

*A.* In some of the most northern colonies they may be obliged to do it some part of the winter.

*Q.* Considering the resolutions of Parliament,[1] *as to the right*, do you think, if the Stamp Act is repealed, that the North Americans will be satisfied?

*A.* I believe they will.

[1] Afterwards expressed in the Declaratory Act.—B. V.

*Q.* Why do you think so?

*A.* I think the resolutions of *right* will give them very little concern, if they are never attempted to be carried into practice. The colonies will probably consider themselves in the same situation, in that respect, with Ireland; they know you claim the same right with regard to Ireland, but you never exercise it, and they may believe you never will exercise it in the colonies, any more than in Ireland, unless on some very extraordinary occasion.

*Q.* But who are to be the judges of that extraordinary occasion? Is not the Parliament?

*A.* Though the Parliament may judge of the occasion, the people will think it can never exercise such right, till representatives from the colonies are admitted into Parliament; and that, whenever the occasion arises, representatives *will* be ordered.

*Q.* Did you ever hear that Maryland, during the last war, had refused to furnish a quota towards the common defence?

*A.* Maryland has been much misrepresented in this matter. Maryland, to my knowledge, never refused to contribute or grant aids to the crown. The assemblies, every year during the war, voted considerable sums, and formed bills to raise them. The bills were, according to the constitution of that province, sent up to the Council, or Upper House, for concurrence, that they might be presented to the governor, in order to be enacted into laws. Unhappy disputes between the two Houses, arising from the defects of that constitution principally,

rendered all the bills but one or two abortive. The proprietary's council rejected them. It is true, Maryland did not then contribute its proportion; but it was, in my opinion, the fault of the government, not of the people.

*Q.* Was it not talked of in the other provinces, as a proper measure, to apply to Parliament to compel them?

*A.* I have heard such discourse; but, as it was well known that the people were not to blame, no such application was ever made, nor any step taken towards it.

*Q.* Was it not proposed at a public meeting?

*A.* Not that I know of.

*Q.* Do you remember the abolishing of the paper currency in New England, by act of assembly?

*A.* I do remember its being abolished in the Massachusetts Bay.

*Q.* Was not Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson principally concerned in that transaction?

*A.* I have heard so.

*Q.* Was it not at that time a very unpopular law?

*A.* I believe it might, though I can say little about it, as I lived at a distance from that province.

*Q.* Was not the scarcity of gold and silver an argument used against abolishing the paper?

*A.* I suppose it was.[1]

*Q.* What is the present opinion there of that law? Is it as unpopular as it was at first?

[1] See "Remarks and Facts Relative to American Paper Money." Vol. II., p. 340.

*A.* I think it is not.

*Q.* Have not instructions from hence been sometimes sent over to governors, highly oppressive and unpolitical?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Have not some governors dispensed with them for that reason?

*A.* Yes, I have heard so.

*Q.* Did the Americans ever dispute the controlling power of Parliament to regulate the commerce?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Can any thing less than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?

*A.* I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose.

*Q.* Why may it not?

*A.* Suppose a military force sent into America, they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one.

*Q.* If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences?

*A.* A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection.

*Q.* How can the commerce be affected?

*A.* You will find that, if the act is not repealed, they will take a very little of your manufactures in a short time.

*Q.* Is it in their power to do without them?

*A.* The goods they take from Britain are either necessaries, mere conveniences, or superfluities. The first, as cloth, &c., with a little industry they can make at home; the second they can do without, till they are able to provide them among themselves; and the last, which are much the greatest part, they will strike off immediately. They are mere articles of fashion, purchased and consumed because the fashion in a respected country; but will now be detested and rejected. The people have already struck off, by general agreement, the use of all goods fashionable in mournings, and many thousand pounds' worth are sent back as unsalable.

*Q.* Is it their interest to make cloth at home?

*A.* I think they may at present get it cheaper from Britain; I mean of the same fineness and workmanship; but, when one considers other circumstances, the restraints on their trade, and the difficulty of making remittances, it is their interest to make every thing.

*Q.* Suppose an act of internal regulations connected with a tax; how would they receive it?

*A.* I think it would be objected to.

*Q.* Then no regulation with a tax would be submitted to?

*A.* Their opinion is, that, when aids to the crown are wanted, they are to be asked of the several assemblies, according to the old established usage; who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. And that their money ought not to be given away,

without their consent, by persons at a distance, unacquainted with their circumstances and abilities. The granting aids to the crown is the only means they have of recommending themselves to their sovereign; and they think it extremely hard and unjust, that a body of men, in which they have no representatives, should make a merit to itself of giving and granting what is not its own, but theirs; and deprive them of a right they esteem of the utmost value and importance, as it is the security of all their other rights.

*Q.* But is not the post-office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?

*A.* No; the money paid for the postage of a letter is not of the nature of a tax; it is merely a *quantum meruit* for a service done; no person is compellable to pay the money if he does not choose to receive the service. A man may still, as before the act, send his letter by a servant, a special messenger, or a friend, if he thinks it cheaper and safer.

*Q.* But do they not consider the regulations of the post-office, by the act of last year, as a tax?

*A.* By the regulations of last year the rate of postage was generally abated near thirty per cent. through all America; they certainly cannot consider such abatement *as a tax.*

*Q.* If an excise was laid by Parliament, which they might likewise avoid paying, by not consuming the articles excised, would they then not object to it?

*A.* They would certainly object to it, as an excise is unconnected with any service done, and is merely an aid, which they think ought to be asked of them,

and granted by them, if they are to pay it; and can be granted to them by no others whatsoever, whom they have not empowered for that purpose.

*Q.* You say they do not object to the right of Parliament, in laying duties on goods to be paid on their importation; now, is there any kind of difference between a duty on the importation of goods, and an excise on their consumption?

*A.* Yes, a very material one; an excise, for the reasons I have just mentioned, they think you can have no right to lay within their country. But the sea is yours; you maintain, by your fleets, the safety of navigation in it, and keep it clear of pirates; you may have, therefore, a natural and equitable right to some toll or duty on merchandises carried through that part of your dominions, towards defraying the expense you are at in ships to maintain the safety of that carriage.

*Q.* Does this reasoning hold in the case of a duty laid on the produce of their lands exported? And would they not then object to such a duty?

*A.* If it tended to make the produce so much dearer abroad, as to lessen the demand for it, to be sure they would object to such a duty; not to your right of laying it, but they would complain of it as a burden, and petition you to lighten it.

*Q.* Is not the duty paid on the tobacco exported, a duty of that kind?

*A.* That, I think, is only on tobacco carried coastwise, from one colony to another, and appropriated as a fund for supporting the college at Williamsburg in Virginia.

*Q.* Have not the assemblies in the West Indies the same natural rights with those in North America?

*A.* Undoubtedly.

*Q.* And is there not a tax laid there on their sugars exported?

*A.* I am not much acquainted with the West Indies; but the duty of four and a half per cent. on sugars exported was, I believe, granted by their own assemblies.

*Q.* How much is the poll-tax in your province laid on unmarried men?

*A.* It is, I think, fifteen shillings, to be paid by every single freeman upwards of twenty-one years old.

*Q.* What is the annual amount of all the taxes in Pennsylvania?

*A.* I suppose about twenty thousand pounds sterling.

*Q.* Supposing the Stamp Act continued and enforced, do you imagine that ill-humor will induce the Americans to give as much for worse manufactures of their own, and use them, preferable to better of ours?

*A.* Yes, I think so. People will pay as freely to gratify one passion as another, their resentment as their pride.

*Q.* Would the people at Boston discontinue their trade?

*A.* The merchants are a very small number compared with the body of the people, and must discontinue their trade if nobody will buy their goods.

*Q.* What are the body of the people in the colonies?

*A.* They are farmers, husbandmen, or planters.

*Q.* Would they suffer the produce of their lands to rot?

*A.* No; but they would not raise so much. They would manufacture more and plough less.

*Q.* Would they live without the administration of justice in civil matters, and suffer all the inconveniences of such a situation for any considerable time, rather than take the stamps, supposing the stamps were protected by a sufficient force, where every one might have them?

*A.* I think the supposition impracticable, that the stamps should be so protected as that every one might have them. The act requires sub-distributors to be appointed in every county town, district, and village, and they would be necessary. But the principal distributors, who were to have had a considerable profit on the whole, have not thought it worth while to continue in the office; and I think it impossible to find sub-distributors fit to be trusted, who, for the trifling profit that must come to their share, would incur the odium and run the hazard that would attend it; and, if they could be found, I think it impracticable to protect the stamps in so many distant and remote places.

*Q.* But in places where they could be protected, would not the people use them rather than remain in such a situation, unable to obtain any right, or recover by law any debt?

*A.* It is hard to say what they would do. I can only judge what other people will think, and how they will act by what I feel within myself. I have a great many debts due to me in America, and I had rather they should remain unrecoverable by any law than submit to the Stamp Act. They will be debts of honor. It is my opinion the people will either continue in that situation, or find some way to extricate themselves; perhaps by generally agreeing to proceed in the courts without stamps.

*Q.* What do you think a sufficient military force to protect the distribution of the stamps in every part of America?

*A.* A very great force, I can't say what, if the disposition of America is for a general resistance.

*Q.* What is the number of men in America able to bear arms, or of disciplined militia?

*A.* There are, I suppose, at least . . .

[*Question objected to. He withdrew. Called in again.*]

*Q.* Is the American Stamp Act an equal tax on the country?

*A.* I think not.

*Q.* Why so?

*A.* The greatest part of the money must arise from lawsuits for the recovery of debts, and be paid by the lower sort of people, who were too poor easily to pay their debts. It is, therefore, a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor.

*Q.* But will not this increase of expense be a means of lessening the number of lawsuits?

*A.* I think not; for as the costs all fall upon the debtor, and are to be paid by him, they would be no discouragement to the creditor to bring his action.

*Q.* Would it not have the effect of excessive usury?

*A.* Yes; as an oppression of the debtor.

*Q.* How many ships are there laden annually in North America with flax-seed for Ireland?

*A.* I cannot speak to the number of ships; but I know that in 1752 ten thousand hogsheads of flax-seed, each containing seven bushels, were exported from Philadelphia to Ireland. I suppose the quantity is greatly increased since that time, and it is understood that the exportation from New York is equal to that from Philadelphia.

*Q.* What becomes of the flax that grows with that flax-seed?

*A.* They manufacture some into coarse, and some into a middling kind of linen.

*Q.* Are there any slitting-mills in America?

*A.* I think there are three; but I believe only one at present employed. I suppose they will all be set to work if the interruption of the trade continues.

*Q.* Are there any fulling-mills there?

*A.* A great many.

*Q.* Did you never hear that a great quantity of stockings were contracted for, for the army, during the war, and manufactured in Philadelphia?

*A.* I have heard so.

*Q.* If the Stamp Act should be repealed, would not the Americans think they could oblige the Parliament to repeal every external tax law now in force?

*A.* It is hard to answer questions of what people at such a distance will think.

*Q.* But what do you imagine they will think were the motives of repealing the act?

*A.* I suppose they will think that it was repealed from a conviction of its inexpediency; and they will rely upon it, that, while the same inexpediency subsists, you will never attempt to make such another.

*Q.* What do you mean by its inexpediency?

*A.* I mean its inexpediency on several accounts; the poverty and inability of those who were to pay the tax, the general discontent it has occasioned, and the impracticability of enforcing it.

*Q.* If the act should be repealed, and the legislature should show its resentment to the opposers of the Stamp Act, would the colonies acquiesce in the authority of the legislature? What is your opinion they would do?

*A.* I don't doubt at all that if the legislature repeal the Stamp Act, the colonies will acquiesce in the authority.

*Q.* But if the legislature should think fit to ascertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a small tax, contrary to their opinion, would they submit to pay the tax?

*A.* The proceedings of the people in America have been considered too much together. The proceedings of the assemblies have been very different from those of the mobs, and should be distinguished as having no connection with each other. The assemblies have only peaceably resolved what they take to be their

rights; they have taken no measures for opposition by force, they have not built a fort, raised a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to such opposition. The ringleaders of riots, they think ought to be punished; they would punish them themselves, if they could. Every sober, sensible man, would wish to see rioters punished, as, otherwise, peaceable people have no security of person or estate; but as to an internal tax, how small soever, laid by the legislature here on the people there, while they have no representatives in this legislature, I think it will never be submitted to; they will oppose it to the last; they do not consider it as at all necessary for you to raise money on them by your taxes; because they are, and always have been, ready to raise money by taxes among themselves, and to grant large sums, equal to their abilities, upon requisition from the crown.

They have not only granted equal to their abilities, but, during all the last war, they granted far beyond their abilities, and beyond their proportion with this country (you yourselves being judges), to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds; and this they did freely and readily, only on a sort of promise, from the Secretary of State, that it should be recommended to Parliament to make them compensation. It was accordingly recommended to Parliament, in the most honorable manner for them. America has been greatly misrepresented and abused here, in papers, and pamphlets, and speeches, as ungrateful, and unreasonable, and unjust; in having put this nation to

an immense expense for their defence, and refusing to bear any part of that expense. The colonies raised, paid, and clothed near twenty-five thousand men during the last war; a number equal to those sent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion; they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxes and estates are mortgaged for many years to come, for discharging that debt.

Government here was at that time very sensible of this. The colonies were recommended to Parliament. Every year the King sent down to the House a written message to this purpose: "that his Majesty, being highly sensible of the zeal and vigor with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves, in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommend it to the House to take the same into consideration, and enable him to give them a proper compensation." You will find those messages on your own journals every year of the war to the very last; and you did accordingly give two hundred thousand pounds annually to the crown, to be distributed in such compensation to the colonies.

This is the strongest of all proofs, that the colonies, far from being unwilling to bear a share of the burden, did exceed their proportion; for if they had done less, or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reason for compensation. Indeed, the sums reimbursed them were by no means adequate to the expense they incurred beyond their proportion; but they never murmured at that. They esteemed their sovereign's approbation of their zeal

and fidelity, and the approbation of this House, far beyond any other kind of compensation; therefore there was no occasion for this act, to force money from a willing people. They had not refused giving money for the purposes of the act; no requisition had been made; they were always willing and ready to do what could reasonably be expected from them, and in this light they wish to be considered.

*Q.* But suppose Great Britain should be engaged in a war in Europe, would North America contribute to the support of it?

*A.* I do think they would as far as their circumstances would permit. They consider themselves as a part of the British empire, and as having one common interest with it; they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honor and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it, as far as their little power goes. In 1739 they were called upon to assist in the expedition against Carthagena, and they sent three thousand men to join your army. It is true, Carthagena is in America, but as remote from the northern colonies as if it had been in Europe. They make no distinction of wars, as to their duty of assisting in them.

I know the last war is commonly spoken of here, as entered into for the defence, or for the sake, of the people in America. I think it is quite misunderstood. It began about the limits between Canada and Nova Scotia; about territories to which the *crown* indeed

laid claim, but which were not claimed by any British *colony;* none of the lands had been granted to any colonist; we had therefore no particular concern or interest in that dispute. As to the Ohio, the contest there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they seized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors and correspondents, had erected there to secure that trade. Braddock was sent with an army to retake that fort (which was looked on here as another encroachment on the King's territory,) and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat, that the colonies were attacked.[1] They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not, therefore, sent for their defence.

The trade with the Indians, though carried on in America, is not an American interest. The people of America are chiefly farmers and planters; scarce any thing that they raise or produce is an article of commerce with the Indians. The Indian trade is a British interest; it is carried on with British manufactures, for the profit of British merchants and manufacturers; therefore the war, as it commenced for the defence of territories of the crown (the prop-

[1] When this army was in the utmost distress, from the want of wagons, &c., our author and his son voluntarily traversed the country, in order to collect a sufficient quantity; and they had zeal and address enough to effect their purpose, upon pledging themselves, to the amount of many thousand pounds, for payment. It was just before Dr. Franklin's last return from England to America, that the accounts in this transaction were passed at the British treasury. —B.V.

erty of no American), and for the defence of a trade purely British, was really a British war, and yet the people of America made no scruple of contributing their utmost towards carrying it on, and bringing it to a happy conclusion.

*Q.* Do you think, then, that the taking possession of the King's territorial rights, and strengthening the frontiers, is not an American interest?

*A.* Not particularly, but conjointly a British and an American interest.

*Q.* You will not deny, that the preceding war, the war with Spain, was entered into for the sake of America; was it not occasioned by captures made in the American seas?

*A.* Yes; captures of ships carrying on the British trade there with British manufactures.

*Q.* Was not the late war with the Indians, since the peace with France, a war for America only?

*A.* Yes; it was more particularly for America than the former; but was rather a consequence or remains of the former war, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified; and the Americans bore by much the greatest share of the expense. It was put an end to by the army under General Bouquet: there were not above three hundred regulars in that army, and above one thousand Pennsylvanians.

*Q.* Is it not necessary to send troops to America, to defend the Americans against the Indians?

*A.* No, by no means; it never was necessary. They defended themselves when they were but a handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They

continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains, without any troops sent to their assistance from this country. And can it be thought necessary now to send troops for their defence from those diminished Indian tribes, when the colonies have become so populous and so strong? There is not the least occasion for it; they are very able to defend themselves.

*Q.* Do you say that there were not more than three hundred regular troops employed in the late Indian war?

*A.* Not on the Ohio, or the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which was the chief part of the war that affected the colonies. There were garrisons at Niagara, Fort Detroit, and those remote posts kept for the sake of your trade; I did not reckon them; but I believe, that on the whole the number of Americans, or provincial troops, employed in the war was greater than that of the regulars. I am not certain, but I think so.

*Q.* Do you think the assemblies have a right to levy money on the subject there, to grant to the crown?

*A.* I certainly think so; they have always done it.

*Q.* Are they acquainted with the declaration of rights? And do they know, that, by that statute, money is not to be raised on the subject but by consent of Parliament?

*A.* They are very well acquainted with it.

*Q.* How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the crown, or for any other than local purposes?

*A.* They understand that clause to relate to subjects only within the realm; that no money can be levied on them for the crown but by consent of Parliament. The colonies are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own, which are their parliaments, and they are, in that respect, in the same situation with Ireland. When money is to be raised for the crown upon the subject in Ireland, or in the colonies, the consent is given in the Parliament of Ireland, or in the assemblies of the colonies. They think the Parliament of Great Britain cannot properly give that consent, till it has representatives from America; for the petition of right expressly says, it is to be by common consent in Parliament; and the people of America have no representatives in Parliament, to make a part of that common consent.

*Q.* If the Stamp Act should be repealed, and an act should pass, ordering the assemblies of the colonies to indemnify the sufferers by the riots, would they obey it?

*A.* That is a question I cannot answer.

*Q.* Supposing the King should require the colonies to grant a revenue, and the Parliament should be against their doing it, do they think they can grant a revenue to the King without the consent of the Parliament of Great Britain?

*A.* That is a deep question. As to my own opinion, I should think myself at liberty to do it, and should do it, if I liked the occasion.

*Q.* When money has been raised in the colonies, upon requisitions, has it not been granted to the King?

*A.* Yes, always; but the requisitions have generally been for some service expressed, as to raise, clothe, and pay troops, and not for money only.

*Q.* If the act should pass requiring the American assemblies to make compensation to the sufferers, and they should disobey it, and then the Parliament should, by another act, lay an internal tax, would they then obey it?

*A.* The people will pay no internal tax; and, I think, an act to oblige the assemblies to make compensation is unnecessary; for I am of opinion, that, as soon as the present heats are abated, they will take the matter into consideration, and if it is right to be done, they will do it of themselves.

*Q.* Do not letters often come into the post-offices in America, directed to some inland town where no post goes?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Can any private person take up those letters and carry them as directed?

*A.* Yes; any friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

*Q.* But must not he pay an additional postage for the distance to such inland town?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Can the post-master answer delivering the letter, without being paid such additional postage?

*A.* Certainly he can demand nothing where he does no service.

*Q.* Suppose a person, being far from home, finds a letter in a post-office directed to him, and he lives

in a place to which the post generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place; will the post-master deliver him the letter, without his paying the postage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed?

*A.* Yes; the office cannot demand postage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

*Q.* Are not ferry-men in America obliged, by act of Parliament, to carry over the posts without pay?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Is not this a tax on the ferry-men?

*A.* They do not consider it as such, as they have an advantage from persons travelling with the post.

*Q.* If the Stamp Act should be repealed, and the crown should make a requisition to the colonies for a sum of money, would they grant it?

*A.* I believe they would.

*Q.* Why do you think so?

*A.* I can speak for the colony I live in; I had it in *instruction* from the assembly to assure the ministry that, as they had always done, so they should always think it their duty, to grant such aids to the crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities, whenever called upon for that purpose, in the usual constitutional manner; and I had the honor of communicating this instruction to that honorable gentleman then minister.[1]

[1] I take the following to be the history of this transaction. Until 1763, and the years following, whenever Great Britain wanted supplies directly from the colonies, the Secretary of State, in his Majesty's name, sent them a letter of requisition, in which the occasion for supplies was expressed; and the colonies returned a *free gift*, the mode of levying which *they* wholly

*Q.* Would they do this for a British concern, as suppose a war in some part of Europe, that did not affect them ?

*A.* Yes, for any thing that concerned the general interest. They consider themselves a part of the whole.

*Q.* What is the usual constitutional manner of calling on the colonies for aids ?

*A.* A letter from the Secretary of State.

*Q.* Is this all you mean ; a letter from the Secretary of State ?

*A.* I mean the usual way of requisition, in a circular letter from the Secretary of State, by his Majesty's command, reciting the occasion, and recommending it to the colonies to grant such aids as became their loyalty, and were suitable to their abilities.

*Q.* Did the Secretary of State ever write for money for the crown ?

*A.* The requisitions have been to raise, clothe, and pay men, which cannot be done without money.

*Q.* Would they grant money alone, if called on ?

prescribed. At this period, a chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. George Grenville) steps forth, and says to the House of Commons: "*We must call for money from the colonies in the way of a tax*"; and to the colony agents: "*Write to your several colonies, and tell them if they dislike a duty upon* stamps, *and prefer any other method of raising the money themselves, I shall be content, provided the* amount *be but raised.*" "That is," observed the colonies, when commenting upon his terms, "if we do not tax ourselves, *as we may be directed*, the Parliament will tax us." Dr. Franklin's instructions, spoken of above, related to this gracious option. As the colonies could not choose "*another* tax," while they disclaimed *every* tax, the Parliament passed the Stamp Act.

It seems that the only part of the offer which bore a show of favor, was the grant of the *mode of levying*; and this was the only circumstance which was *not new.*

See Mr. Mauduit's account of Mr. Grenville's conference with the agents, confirmed by the agents for Georgia and Virginia; and Mr. Burke's Speech, in 1774, p. 55.—B. V.

*A.* In my opinion they would, money as well as men, when they have money, or can make it.

*Q.* If the Parliament should repeal the Stamp Act, will the assembly of Pennsylvania rescind their resolutions?

*A.* I think not.

*Q.* Before there was any thought of the Stamp Act, did they wish for a representation in Parliament?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Don't you know that there is in the Pennsylvania charter an express reservation of the right of Parliament to lay taxes there?

*A.* I know there is a clause in the charter by which the King grants that he will levy no taxes on the inhabitants, unless it be with the consent of the assembly or by act of Parliament.

*Q.* How, then, could the assembly of Pennsylvania assert that laying a tax on them by the Stamp Act was an infringement of their rights?

*A.* They understand it thus: by the same charter, and otherwise, they are entitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen. They find in the Great Charters and the Petition and Declaration of Rights that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their common consent. They have, therefore, relied upon it from the first settlement of the province, that the Parliament never would, nor could, by color of that clause in the charter assume a right of taxing them till it had qualified itself to exercise such right by admitting

representatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common consent.

*Q.* Are there any words in the charter that justify that construction?

*A.* "The common rights of Englishmen," as declared by *Magna Charta,* and the Petition of Right all justify it.

*Q.* Does the distinction between internal and external taxes exist in the words of the charter?

*A.* No, I believe not.

*Q.* Then, may they not, by the same interpretation, object to the Parliament's right of external taxation?

*A.* They never have hitherto. Many arguments have been lately used here to show them that there is no difference, and that if you have no right to tax them internally, you have none to tax them externally, or make any other law to bind them. At present they do not reason so; but in time they may possibly be convinced by these arguments.

*Q.* Do not the resolutions of the Pennsylvania assembly say "all taxes"?

*A.* If they do, they mean only internal taxes. The same words have not always the same meaning here and in the colonies. By taxes they mean internal taxes; by duties they mean customs. These are their ideas of the language.

*Q.* Have you not seen the resolutions of the Massachusetts Bay assembly?

*A.* I have.

*Q.* Do they not say that neither external nor internal taxes can be laid on them by Parliament?

*A.* I don't know that they do; I believe not.

*Q.* If the same colony should say neither tax nor imposition could be laid, does not that province hold the power of Parliament can lay neither?

*A.* I suppose that by the word *imposition* they do not intend to express duties to be laid on goods imported as *regulations of commerce.*

*Q.* What can the colonies mean, then, by imposition as distinct from taxes?

*A.* They may mean many things, as impressing of men or of carriages, quartering troops on private houses, and the like; there may be great impositions that are not properly taxed.

*Q.* Is not the post-office rate an internal tax laid by act of Parliament?

*A.* I have answered that.

*Q.* Are all parts of the colonies equally able to pay taxes?

*A.* No, certainly; the frontier parts, which have been ravaged by the enemy, are greatly disabled by that means; and therefore, in such cases, are usually favored in our tax laws.

*Q.* Can we, at this distance, be competent judges of what favors are necessary?

*A.* The Parliament have supposed it, by claiming a right to make tax laws for America; I think it impossible.

*Q.* Would the repeal of the Stamp Act be any discouragement of your manufactures? Will the people that have begun to manufacture decline it?

*A.* Yes, I think they will; especially if, at the same

time, the trade is opened again, so that remittances can be easily made. I have known several instances that make it probable. In the war before last, tobacco being low, and making little remittance, the people of Virginia went generally into family manufactures. Afterwards, when tobacco bore a better price, they returned to the use of British manufactures. So fulling-mills were very much disused in the last war in Pennsylvania, because bills were then plenty, and remittances could easily be made to Britain for English cloth and other goods.

*Q.* If the Stamp Act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the right of Parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

*A.* No, never.

*Q.* Are there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

*A.* None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

*Q.* Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

*A.* No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

*Q.* Do they consider the post-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

*A.* Not as a tax, but as a regulation and conveniency; every assembly encouraged it and supported it in its infancy by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage.

*Q.* When did you receive the instructions you mentioned?

*A.* I brought them with me, when I came to England about fifteen months since.

*Q.* When did you communicate that instruction to the minister?

*A.* Soon after my arrival, while the stamping of America was under consideration, and before the bill was brought in.

*Q.* Would it be most for the interest of Great Britain to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

*A.* In tobacco, to be sure.

*Q.* What used to be the pride of the Americans?

*A.* To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

*Q.* What is now their pride?

*A.* To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

[*Withdrew.*]

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This examination was published in 1767, without the name of printer or of publisher, and the following remarks upon it are contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July of that year:

"From this examination of Dr. Franklin, the reader may form a clearer and more comprehensive idea of the state and disposition in America, of the expediency or inexpediency of the measure in question, and of the character and conduct of the minister who proposed it, than from all that has been written upon the subject in newspapers and pamphlets, under the titles of essays, letters, speeches, and considerations, from the first moment of its becoming the subject of public attention till now. The questions in general are put with great subtlety and judgment, and they are

answered with such deep and familiar knowledge of the subject, such precision and perspicuity, such temper and yet such spirit, as do the greatest honor to Dr. Franklin, and justify the general opinion of his charater and abilities."

Mr. Sparks very justly says that there was no event in Franklin's life more creditable to his talents and character, or which gave him so much celebrity, as this examination before the House of Commons. His further statement, however, that Franklin's answers were given without premeditation and without knowing beforehand the nature or form of the question that was to be put, is a little too sweeping. In a memorandum which Franklin gave to a friend who wished to know by whom the several questions were put, he admitted that many were put by friends to draw out in answer the substance of what he had before said upon the subject. This statement of Franklin belongs to the history of the examination. It first appeared in Walsh's "Life of Franklin," published in *Delaplaine's Repository*, and purports to have been written by Dr. Franklin in reply to a friend who desired to know by whom the several questions were put. His statement is as follows:

In Mr. Walsh's "Life of Franklin," contained in *Delaplaine's Repository*, are some curious remarks on the preceding examination, transcribed from a manuscript written by Dr. Franklin in reply to a friend, who desired to know by whom the several questions were put. These remarks are as follows:

"I have numbered the questions," says Dr. Franklin, "for the sake of making reference to them.

"*Qu.* 1, is a question of form, asked of every one that is examined.—*Qu.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, were asked by Mr. Hewitt, a member for Coventry, a friend of ours, and were designed to draw out the answers that follow; being the substance of what I had before said to him on the subject, to remove a common prejudice, that the Colonies paid no taxes, and that their governments were supported by burdening the people here; *Qu.* 7, was particularly intended to show by the answer that Parliament could not properly and equally lay taxes in America, as they could not, by reason of their distance, be acquainted with such circumstances as might make it necessary to spare particular parts.—*Qu.* 8 to 13, asked by Mr. Huske, another friend, to show the impracticability of distributing the Stamps in America.—*Qu.* 14, 15, 16, by one of the late administration, an adversary.—*Qu.* 17 to 26, by Mr. Huske again. His questions about the Germans, and about the number of people, were intended to make the opposition to the Stamp Act in America appear more formidable. He asked some others here that the clerk has omitted, particularly one, that I remember.

"There had been a considerable party in the House for saving the honor and right of Parliament, by retaining the Act, and yet making it tolerable to America, by reducing it to a stamp on commissions for profitable offices, and on cards and dice. I had, in conversation with many of them, objected to this, as it would require an establishment for the distributors, which would be a great expense, as the stamps would not be sufficient to pay them, and so the odium and contention would be kept up for nothing. The notion of amending, however, still continued, and one of the most active of the members for promoting it told me, he was sure I could, if I would, assist them to amend the Act in such a manner, that America should have little or no objection to it. 'I must confess,' says I, 'I have thought of one amendment; if you will make it, the Act may remain, and yet the Americans will be quieted. It is a very small amendment, too; it is only the change of a single word.' 'Ay,' says he, 'what is that?' 'It is in that clause where it is said, "that from and after the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, there shall be paid," &c. The amendment I would propose is, for *one* read *two*, and then all the rest of the Act may stand as it does. I believe it will give nobody in America any uneasiness.' Mr. Huske had heard of this, and, desiring to bring out the same answer in the House, asked me whether I could not propose a small amendment, that would make the Act palatable. But, as I thought the answer he wanted too light and ludicrous for the House, I evaded the question.

"*Qu.* 27, 28, 29, I think these were by Mr. Grenville, but I am not certain. —*Qu.* 30, 31, I know not who asked them.—*Qu.* 32 to 35, asked by Mr. Nugent, who was against us. His drift was to establish a notion he had entertained, that the people in America had a crafty mode of discouraging the English trade by heavy taxes on merchants.—*Qu.* 36 to 42, most of these by Mr. Cooper and other friends, with whom I had discoursed, and were intended to bring out such answers as they desired and expected from me.—*Qu.* 43, uncertain by whom.—*Qu.* 44, 45, 46, by Mr. Nugent again, who I suppose intended to infer that the poor people in America were better able to pay taxes than the poor in England.—*Qu.* 47, 48, 49, by Mr. Prescott, an adversary.

"*Qu.* 50 to 58, by different members, I cannot recollect who.—*Qu.* 59 to 78, chiefly by the former ministry.—*Qu.* 79 to 82, by friends.—*Qu.* 83, by one of the late ministry.—*Qu.* 84, by Mr. Cooper.—*Qu.* 85 to 90, by some of the late ministry.—*Qu.* 91, 92, by Mr. Grenville.—*Qu.* 93 to 98, by some of the late ministry.—*Qu.* 99, 100, by some friend, I think Sir George Saville.—*Qu.* 101 to 106, by several of the late ministry.—*Qu.* 107 to 114, by friends.—*Qu.* 115 to 117, by Mr. A. Bacon.—*Qu.* 118 to 120, by some of the late ministry.—*Qu.* 121, by an adversary.—*Qu.* 122, by a friend.—*Qu.* 123, 124, by Mr. Charles Townshend.—*Qu.* 125, by Mr. Nugent.—*Qu.* 126, by Mr. Grenville.—*Qu.* 127, by one of the late ministry.—*Qu.* 128, by Mr. G. Grenville.—*Qu.* 129, 130, 131, by Mr. Wellbore Ellis, late Secretary of War.—*Qu.* 132 to 135, uncertain.—*Qu.* 136 to 142, by some of the late ministry, intending to prove that it operated where no service was done, and therefore it was a tax.—*Qu.* 143, by a friend, I forget who.—*Qu.* 144, 145, by C. Townshend.—*Qu.* 146 to 151, by some of

the late ministry.—*Qu.* 152 to 157, by Mr. Prescott, and others of the same side. —*Qu.* 158 to 162, by Charles Townshend.—*Qu.* 163, 164, by a friend, I think Sir George Saville.—*Qu.* 165, by some friend.—*Qu.* 166, 167, by an adversary. —*Qu.* 168 to 174, by friends.

"Mr. Nugent made a violent speech next day upon this examination, in which he said: 'We have often experienced Austrian ingratitude, and yet we assisted Portugal; we experienced Portuguese ingratitude, and yet we assisted America. But what is Austrian ingratitude, what is the ingratitude of Portugal, compared to this of America? We have fought, bled, and ruined ourselves, to conquer for them; and now they come and tell us to our noses, even at the bar of this House, that they are not obliged to us,' &c. But his clamor was very little minded."

A few years since the editor stumbled upon an original edition of this *Examination*, in a pamphlet form, and bearing the following title:

THE EXAMINATION OF

DOCTOR BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

RELATIVE TO

THE REPEAL OF THE AMERICAN STAMP ACT IN MDCCLXVI.

MDCCLXVII.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

No publisher's imprint is given. In the margin, however, and in a chirography which seems more recent than the printed text, are written what purport to be the "names of the interrogators." When or by whom, or upon what authority, this list was made, there are no indications; but the fact that the list differs so widely from that given in *Delaplaine's*, and the further fact that Franklin so frequently confesses his inability to recall the names of some of his interrogators, seem to justify me in giving this anonymous list here for what it is worth.

As Grenville is always spelt Greenwille, and Burke Bourke, the presumption is that all the names were written by a foreigner, who had taken them from the lips of his informant.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| By the Speaker | Nos. 1, 2, | inclusive. |
| " Mr. Huske | Nos. 3 to 42, | " |
| " Lord Clare | Nos. 43 to 49, 98 to 103, | " |
| " Mr. Townshend | Nos. 50 to 77, | " |
| " Mr. Bourke | Nos. 78 to 89, 106, 107, | " |
| " Mr. Greenwille | Nos. 90 to 97, 122 to 148, | " |

By Marquis of Granby . . . . . Nos. 104, 105, inclusive.
" Lord North . . . . . Nos. 108 to 121, 149 to 156, "
" Mr. Thurloe, King's counsel-at-law . . . 157 to 162, "
" Mr. Cooper, Secretary of the Treasury . . . 163 to 173, "

In this list we do not find the names of Nugent, Ellis, Bacon, Saville, or Prescott, while in the other list we do not find the names of Lord Clare, Burke, Marquis of Granby, Lord North, or Thurlow.—EDITOR.

## CCLXX.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 22 February, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I am excessively hurried, being, every hour that I am awake, either abroad to speak with members of Parliament, or taken up with people coming to me at home concerning our American affairs, so that I am much behindhand in answering my friends' letters. But though I cannot by this opportunity write to others, I must not omit a line to you, who kindly write me so many. I am well. It is all I can say at present, except that I am just made very happy by a vote of the Commons for the repeal of the Stamp Act. Your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.[1]

## CCLXXI.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 27 February, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I wrote you a few days ago by Mr. Penrose, by way of Maryland, when I wrote

[1] Dr. Franklin's examination before Parliament, concerning the Stamp Act, was closed on the 13th of February, and contributed essentially towards effecting the repeal. The bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act received the royal assent on the 8th of March.

also to the Speaker, to Mr. Galloway, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Hall. I have now as little time as then to enlarge, having wrote besides to-day so much, that I am almost blind. But, by the March packet, I shall freely answer your late letters. Let the vaults alone till my return. As you have a woodyard, perhaps they may not be necessary. I send you some curious beans for your garden. Love to Sally, and all relations, and to all the ladies that do me the honor to inquire after me. I congratulate you on the soon expected repeal of the Stamp Act, and on the great share of health we both enjoy, though now going in fourscore, that is, in the fourth score. Mr. Whitefield called to-day, and tells me a surprising piece of news. Mr. Dunlap is come here from Barbadoes, was ordained deacon on Saturday last, and priest on Sunday. In haste, but very well. I am, my dear girl, your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXII.

### TO HUGH ROBERTS.

LONDON, 27 February, 1766.

DEAR FRIEND:—I received your kind letter of November 27th. You cannot conceive how much good the cordial salutations of an old friend do the heart of a man so far from home, and hearing frequently of the abuses thrown on him in his absence by the enemies that party has raised against him. In the meantime, I hope I have done even those enemies some service in our late struggle for America.

It has been a hard one, and we have been often between hope and despair; but now the day begins to clear. The ministry are fixed for us, and we have obtained a majority in the House of Commons for repealing the Stamp Act, and giving us ease in every commercial grievance. God grant that no bad news of farther excesses in America may arrive to strengthen our adversaries, and weaken the hands of our friends, before this good work is quite completed.

The partisans of the late ministry have been strongly crying out *rebellion*, and calling for force to be sent against America. The consequence might have been terrible; but milder measures have prevailed. I hope, nay, I am confident, America will show itself grateful to Britain on the occasion, and behave prudently and decently.

I have got a seal done for four guineas, which I shall send by a friend. My respects to good Mrs. Roberts and to your valuable son. Remember me affectionately to the Junto, and to all inquiring friends. Adieu, my dear friend. Your integrity will always make you happy. Believe me ever yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

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## CCLXXIII.

### TO CHARLES THOMSON.

LONDON, 27 February, 1766.

MY GOOD FRIEND AND NEIGHBOUR:

I forgot whether I before acknowledged the receipt of your kind letter of September 24th. I gave an

extract from it to a friend, with an extract from mine to which it was an answer, and he printed both in the *London Chronicle*, with an introduction of his own; and I have reprinted every thing from America that I thought might help our common cause.

We at length, after a long and hard struggle, have gained so much ground, that there is now little doubt the Stamp Act will be repealed, and reasonable relief given us besides, in our commercial grievances, and those relating to our currency. I trust the behaviour of the Americans on the occasion will be so prudent, decent, and grateful, as that their friends here will have no reason to be ashamed, and that our enemies, who predict that the indulgence of Parliament will only make us more insolent and ungovernable, may find themselves, and be found, false prophets.

My respects to Mrs. Thomson. I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you by any of the late opportunities, but am so bad a correspondent myself that I have no right to take exceptions, and am, nevertheless, your affectionate friend and very humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXIV.

### TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 6 April, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD:—As the Stamp Act is at length repealed, I am willing you should have a new gown, which you may suppose I did not send sooner, as I knew you would not like to be finer than your neighbors, unless in a gown of your own spinning. Had

the trade between the two countries totally ceased, it was a comfort to me to recollect, that I had once been clothed from head to foot in woollen and linen of my wife's manufacture, that I never was prouder of any dress in my life, and that she and her daughter might do it again if it was necessary. I told the Parliament that it was my opinion, before the old clothes of the Americans were worn out, they might have new ones of their own making. I have sent you a fine piece of Pompadour satin, fourteen yards, cost eleven shillings a yard; a silk *negligée* and petticoat of brocaded lutestring for my dear Sally, with two dozen gloves, four bottles of lavender water, and two little reels. The reels are to screw on the edge of the table, when she would wind silk or thread. The skein is to be put over them, and winds better than if held in two hands. There is also a gimcrack cork-screw, which you must get some brother gimcrack to show you the use of. In the chest is a parcel of books for my friend Mr. Coleman, and another for cousin Colbert. Pray did he receive those I sent him before? I send you also a box with three fine cheeses. Perhaps a bit of them may be left when I come home. Mrs. Stevenson has been very diligent and serviceable in getting these things together for you, and presents her best respects, as does her daughter, to both you and Sally. There are two boxes included in your bill of lading for Billy.

I received your kind letter of February 20th. It gives me great pleasure to hear, that our good old friend Mrs. Smith is on the recovery. I hope she

has yet many happy years to live. My love to her. I fear, from the account you give of brother Peter, that he cannot hold out long. If it should please God that he leaves us before my return, I would have the post-office remain under the management of their son, till Mr. Foxcroft and I agree how to settle it.[1]

There are some droll prints in the box, which were given me by the painter, and, being sent when I was not at home, were packed up without my knowledge. I think he was wrong to put in Lord Bute, who had nothing to do with the Stamp Act. But it is the fashion to abuse that nobleman, as the author of all mischief. Love to Sally and all friends. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXV.

TO THOMAS RONAYNE, AT CORK.[2]

LONDON, 20 April, 1766.

SIR:—I have received your very obliging and very ingenious letter by Captain Kearney. Your observations upon the electricity of fogs and the air in Ireland, and upon different circumstances of storms, appear to me very curious, and I thank you for them. There is not, in my opinion, any part of the earth whatever which is, or can be, naturally in a state of negative

[1] Peter Franklin, the last surviving brother of Dr. Franklin, died July 1, 1766, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He had formerly resided at Newport, Rhode Island; but at the time of his death he was deputy postmaster in Philadelphia.

[2] Translated from M. Dubourg's French edition of the author's work (Tome I., p. 265).—SPARKS.

electricity; and, though different circumstances may occasion an inequality in the distribution of the fluid, the equilibrium is immediately restored by means of its extreme subtilty, and of the excellent conductors with which the humid earth is amply provided. I am of opinion, however, that when a cloud, well charged positively, passes near the earth, it repels and forces down into the earth that natural portion of electricity which exists near its surface and in buildings, trees, &c., so as actually to reduce them to a negative state before it strikes them. I am of opinion, too, that the negative state in which you have frequently found the balls which are suspended from your apparatus, is not always occasioned by clouds in a negative state; but more commonly by clouds positively electrified, which have passed over them, and which in their passage have repelled and driven off a part of the electrical matter which naturally existed in the apparatus; so that, what remained after the passing of the clouds diffusing itself uniformly through the apparatus, the whole became reduced to a negative state.

If you have read my experiments made in continuation of those of Mr. Canton, you will readily understand this; but you may easily make a few experiments, which will clearly demonstrate it. Let a common glass be warmed before the fire, that it may continue very dry for some time; set it upon a table, and place upon it the small box made use of by Mr. Canton, so that the balls may hang a little beyond the edge of the table. Rub another glass, which has previously

been warmed in a similar manner, with a piece of black silk, or a silk handkerchief, in order to electrify it. Hold then the glass above the little box, at about the distance of three or four inches from that part which is most distant from the balls, and you will see the balls separate from each other; being positively electrified by the natural portion of electricity which was in the box, and which is driven to the farther part of it by the repulsive power of the atmosphere in the excited glass. Touch the box near the little balls (the excited glass continuing in the same state), and the balls will again unite; the quantity of electricity which had been driven to this part being drawn off by your finger. Withdraw then both your finger and the glass, at the same instant, and the quantity of electricity which had remained in the box, uniformly diffusing itself, the balls will again be separated, being now in a negative state. While things are in this situation, begin once more to excite your glass, and hold it above the box, but not too near, and you will find that, when it is brought within a certain distance, the balls will at first approach each other, being then in a natural state. In proportion as the glass is brought nearer, they will again separate, being positive. When the glass is moved beyond them, and at some little farther distance, they will unite again, being in a natural state. When it is entirely removed, they will separate again, being then negative. The excited glass in this experiment may represent a cloud positively charged, which you see is capable of producing in this manner all the different

changes in the apparatus, without the least necessity for supposing any negative cloud.

I am nevertheless fully convinced, that there are negative clouds; because they sometimes absorb, through the medium of the apparatus, the positive electricity of a large jar, the hundreth part of which the apparatus itself would have not been able to receive or contain at once. In fact, it is not difficult to conceive that a large cloud, highly charged positively, may reduce smaller clouds to a negative state, when it passes above or near them, by forcing a part of their natural portion of the fluid either to their inferior surfaces, whence it may strike into the earth, or to the opposite side, whence it may strike into the adjacent clouds; so that, when the large cloud has passed off to a distance, the small clouds shall remain in a negative state, exactly like the apparatus; the former (like the latter) being frequently insulated bodies, having communication neither with the earth nor with other clouds. Upon the same principle it may easily be conceived in what manner a large negative cloud may render others positive.

The experiment which you mention, of filing your glass, is analogous to one which I made in 1751, or 1752. I had supposed in my preceding letters, that the pores of glass were smaller in the interior parts than near the surface, and that on this account they prevented the passage of the electrical fluid. To prove whether this was actually the case or not, I ground one of my phials in a part where it was extremely thin, grinding it considerably beyond the

middle, and very near to the opposite superficies, as I found, upon breaking it after the experiment. It was charged nevertheless after being ground, equally well as before, which convinced me that my hypothesis on this subject was erroneous. It is difficult to conceive where the immense superfluous quantity of electricity on the charged side of a glass is deposited.

I send you my paper concerning Meteors, which was lately published here in the Philosophical Transactions, immediately after a paper by Mr. Hamilton on the same subject. I am, Sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXVI.

### TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

LONDON, 28 April, 1766.

DEAR COUSIN :—I have received several of your kind favors since my arrival in England, the last by your good brother, the subject not in the least disagreeable, as you apprehend, but in truth it has not been at all in my power to do what you desired; if for no other reason, yet for this, that there has been no vacancy.

I congratulate you on the repeal of that mother of mischiefs, the Stamp Act, and on the ease we are likely to obtain in our commerce. My time has been extremely taken up, as you may imagine, in these general affairs of America, as well as in the particular one of our province. Yet I did not forget the Armonica for cousin Josiah; but, with all my endeav-

ours, I have not yet been able to procure one. Here is only one man that makes them well; his price no less than thirty-four guineas, and he asks forty. I bid him one hundred guineas for three; he refused it. I then agreed to give him the thirty-four guineas for one. He promised to make it, now a twelve-month since. I have called on him often, till I am tired, and do not find that he has yet done a glass of it. If I could have got this, Josiah should have had it, or mine. But I fear it will not be got at all. . . .

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXVII.

### TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

LONDON, 9 May, 1766.

DEAR SIR:—I received your kind letter of March 3d, and thank you for the intelligence and hints it contained. I wonder at the complaint you mention. I always considered writing to the Speaker as writing to the Committee. But if it is more to their satisfaction that I should write to them jointly, it shall be done in the future.

My private opinion concerning a union in Parliament between the two countries is, that it would be best for the whole. But I think it will never be done. For though I believe that, if we had no more representatives than Scotland has, we should be sufficiently strong in the House to prevent, as they do for Scotland, any thing ever passing to our disadvantage,

yet we are not able at present to furnish and maintain such a number, and, when we are more able, we shall be less willing than we are now. The Parliament here do at present think too highly of themselves to admit representatives from us, if we should ask it; and, when they will be desirous of granting it, we shall think too highly of ourselves to accept of it. It would certainly contribute to the strength of the whole, if Ireland and all the dominions were united and consolidated under one common council for general purposes, each retaining its particular council or parliament for its domestic concerns. But this should have been early provided for. In the infancy of our foreign establishments it was neglected, or was not thought of. And now the affair is nearly in the situation of Friar Bacon's project of making a brazen wall round England for its eternal security. His servaht, Friar Bungey, slept while the brazen head, which was to dictate how it might be done, said *Time is*, and *Time was.* He only waked to hear it say, *Time is past.* An explosion followed, that tumbled their house about the conjuror's ears.

I hope, with you, that my being here at this juncture has been of some service to the colonies. I am sure I have spared no pains. And as to our particular affair, I am not in the least doubtful of obtaining what we so justly desire, if we continue to desire it; though the late confused state of affairs on both sides of the water has delayed our proceeding. With great esteem, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXVIII.

*Mode of ascertaining whether the Power, giving a Shock to those who touch either the Surinam Eel or the Torpedo, be Electrical.*

1. Touch the fish with a dry stick of sealing-wax, or a glass rod, and observe if the shock be communicated by means of those bodies.

Touch the same fish with an iron, or other metalline rod.

If the shock be communicated by the latter body, and not by the others, it is probably not the mechanical effect, as has been supposed, of some muscular action in the fish, but of a subtile fluid, in this respect analogous at least to the electric fluid.

2. Observe farther, whether the shock can be conveyed without the metal being actually in contact with the fish, and, if it can, whether, in the space between, any light appear, and a slight noise or crackling be heard.

If so, these also are properties common to the electric fluid.

3. Lastly, touch the fish with the wire of a small Leyden bottle, and, if the shock can be received across, observe whether the wire will attract and repel light bodies, and you feel a shock, while holding the bottle in one hand, and touching the wire with the other.

If so, the fluid, capable of producing such effects, seems to have all the known properties of the electric fluid.

ADDITION, 12 AUGUST, 1772,

*In Consequence of the Experiments and Discoveries made in France by Mr. Walsh, and communicated by him to Dr. Franklin.*

Let several persons, standing on the floor, hold hands, and let one of them touch the fish, so as to receive a shock. If the shock be felt by all, place the fish flat on a plate of metal, and let one of the persons holding hands touch this plate, while the person farthest from the the plate touches the upper part of the fish with a metal rod; then observe, if the force of the shock be the same as to all the persons forming the circle, or is stronger than before.

Repeat this experiment with this difference; let two or three of the persons forming the circle, instead of holding by the hand, hold each an uncharged electrical bottle, so that the little balls and the end of the wires may touch, and observe, after the shock, if these wires will attract and repel light bodies, and if a ball of cork, suspended by a long silk string between the wires, a little distance from the bottles, will be alternately attracted and repelled by them.

## CCLXXIX.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 13 June, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD:—Mrs. Stevenson has made up a parcel of haberdashery for you, which will go by Captain Robinson. She will also send you another

cloak, in the room of that we suppose is lost. I wrote to you that I had been very ill lately. I am now nearly well again, but feeble. To-morrow I set out with my friend Dr. Pringle (now Sir John), on a journey to Pyrmont, where he goes to drink the waters; but I hope more from the air and exercise, having been used, as you know, to have a journey once a year, the want of which last year has, I believe, hurt me, so that, though I was not quite to say sick, I was often ailing last winter and through the spring. We must be back at farthest in eight weeks, as my fellow traveller is the Queen's physician, and has leave for no longer, as her Majesty will then be near her time. I purpose to leave him at Pyrmont, and visit some of the principal cities nearest to it, and call for him again when the time for our return draws nigh. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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It is much to be deplored that we have no journal or any satisfactory account of Dr. Franklin's visit to the Continent this summer. He seems to have made no notes, and to have written no letters during his absence, which are calculated in the least to satisfy our curiosity. We have, however, a glimpse of him and of his companion while at Göttingen, which illustrates the very distinct and durable impression Franklin always made in whatever society he appeared. In the Biography of Joh. D. Michaelis, p. 102, occurs the following statement, which was translated from the fly-leaf of a volume in the Huntington Collection of Franklin-iana in the Metropolitan Museum.

"In the summer of 1766 I had the opportunity of making two agreeable acquaintances. Pringle and Franklin came to Göttingen, and were presented to me by Student Münchausen. I once had a curious conversation with Franklin

at the table. When he dined with me, we talked much about America, about the savages, the rapid growth of the English colonies, the growth of the population, its duplication in 25 years, etc., and I said: 'that when I was in London in 1741 I might have learned more about the condition of the colonies by English books and pamphlets, had I then thought seriously of what I had even then expressed to others: that they would one day release themselves from England. People laughed at me; still I believed it.' He answered me with his earnest, expressive, and intelligent face: 'Then you were mistaken. The Americans have too much love for their mother country.' I said: 'I believe it; but almighty interest would soon outweigh that love or even extinguish it altogether.' He could not deny that this was possible, but secession was impossible, for all the American towns of importance, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, were exposed to the English navy. Boston could be destroyed by bombardment. This was unanswerable; I did not then suspect that I was speaking to the man who, a few years later, outraged in England, would take such an active part in the accomplishment of my contradicted prophecy.

"Meanwhile when the disturbances broke out, I always expected that the commencement would be the bombardment of Boston, but things took quite another turn."

To this was appended the following note, presumedly by Student Münchausen.

"At that time I was studying in Göttingen and had the opportunity of knowing both men. I remember well that Franklin, and I know not wherefor, was much more interesting to me than Pringle. Just in that summer Lessing also came to Göttingen, and Student Diety presented him to me in the library. He our otherwise great countryman was far from pleasing me as well as both those Englishmen. These Britons, decried for their pride, were very sociable and well informed. The German on the contrary was very haughty and controversial in his conversation, which placed good-hearted Diety in constant embarrassment. Yet I may be mistaken. I never saw the man again, nor spoke to him, and in a single interview may have been deceived."

Sir John Pringle, who accompanied Franklin on this trip, and who had been his companion the preceding year on a tour through France, was a man of considerable repute as a man of science in his day, and in 1772 was chosen President of the Royal Society, which he surrendered for an odd reason, which as it happens connects with Franklin, and is thus described by the Messrs. Hale in their captivating monograph on "Franklin in France."

"George III., in the heat of his animosity against the Americans, had determined that the lightning-conductors on Kew Palace should have blunt knobs

instead of sharp points. Franklin, the inventor of conductors, had directed that the points should be sharp, so that an overcharge of electricity might be dispersed silently and without explosion. As we shall have occasion to see, the question of blunt and sharp conductors became a court question, the courtiers siding with the King, and their opponents with Franklin. The King asked Sir John Pringle to take his side, and give him an opinion in favor of the knobs. To which Pringle replied by hinting that the laws of nature were not changeable at royal pleasure. It was then intimated to him by the King's authority that a President of the Royal Society entertaining such an opinion ought to resign, and he resigned accordingly."

It was this controversy that gave rise to the following well-known epigram:

"While you, great George, for safety hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
The nation 's out of joint.
Franklin a wiser course pursues,
And all your thunder fearless views,
By keeping to the point."

Pringle was not only the physician of the King, but of Lord Bute, and to this *clinical* influence it has been usual to attribute William Franklin's appointment as Governor of New Jersey. Nothing is more likely than that Pringle recommended it; but the appointment was, no doubt, made on public, not on private, grounds, and to place the father under obligations, not to oblige the son or any subject or sovereign's family physician.

Only three days before the above letter to his wife was written Dr. Franklin wrote a letter, asking the leave of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania to return. The only notice the Assembly appears to have taken of his application was on the first day of the succeeding session to renew his appointment.

## CCLXXX.

FROM WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

HON^ED FATHER:—I have just ret^d from Amboy, & have rec^d your letter & the Packet of May 10. Mr. Wharton's Clerk has this Moment call'd on me to let me know he is going Express to N. Y. in hopes of overtaking the Pacquet.

I have stopt him that I might send you an Extract of Sr Wm's last Letter relative to the Colony.

I before sent you an Answer to the Enquiry made by S. Alexr Dick. Mr. Pennington informs me that he has sent Mr. Penn an Acct of the Land he enquird about in N. Jersey, nor can I obtain any other Acct of it but the same Mr. Pennington has recd. He is afraid of young Penn's selling the Manor to the proprs for much less than it could be sold for here, & wishes you wd caution him against it.

There has been lately several Murders of Indians in the different Provinces. Those committed in this Province will be duely enquired into, & the Murderers executed as soon as found guilty. They are all apprehended & secured in Gaol.

I congratulate you on the Resolutions of Parlt relative to Commerce. They are in general much approved, & I am in hopes that the People of the Colonies, particularly Persons of Property, will conduct themselves so as to give great satisfaction to the present Ministry. In New York there has been some Riots on Acct of Lands on the Great Manors; but they are now quelled, & their Chief, one Pendergrass, taken Prisoner.

All the Provinces seem in quiet, except Virga & Massachusett's Bay. The Govr of the first won't let his Assy meet, as he understands they are disposed to pass a Bill of Rights & act otherwise in such a Manner as to keep up the Spirit which they kindled before. In the latter, the Assy, by the Influence of that Firebrand *Otis*, has imprudently turned out all the Crown & other officers out of the Council.

I have come off with Flying Colours in the Brush I had with the Assembly. In order to get the better in the Dispute, they asserted a Number of downright Falsehoods, & finding themselves embarras'd by this means, & that they had given me great Advantage, they fairly yielded & desired me to proceed no further in the Affair. I had them, to be sure, prodigiously in my Power, but, however, like a generous Enemy, upon their crying out, *They had got enough*, I

withheld my hand. For the future I believe they will be more cautious. I have just heard that Lord Hope is coming here Tomorrow on a Visit to me.

Before this reaches you, you will probably hear of Uncle Peter's Death. We are very much concern'd at it, particularly as it happen'd so unexpectedly, he having lately been better to all Appearances than for many Months before. I have not heard how the Post-Office is dispos'd of, but I wish Coz. Davenport had it.

The Prop^ry Party give out that Col. W^m Skinner (Bro^r to our Attorney Gen^l ) is coming over Gov^r of the Province. He has an Interest with Col. Fitzroy, the D. of Grafton's Brother, who married his relation Miss Warren. The Gov^r of Barbadoes has Leave to return Home for a 12month, when he expects to resign. In Haste. Your dutiful Son,

W. F.

## CCLXXXI.

TO MRS. MARY FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 26 August, 1766.

DEAR SISTER:—It has pleased God at length to take from us my only remaining brother, and your affectionate husband, with whom you have lived in uninterrupted harmony and love near half a century.

Considering the many dangers and hardships his way of life led him into, and the weakness of his constitution, it is wonderful that he lasted so long. It was God's goodness that spared him to us. Let us, instead of repining at what we have lost, be thankful for what we have enjoyed.

Before this can reach you, every thing that can be said to you by way of consolation, will have been

said to you by your friends, or will have occurred to your own good understanding. It is therefore needless for me to enlarge on that head. But as you may be under some apprehensions for your future subsistence, I am desirous of making you as easy and comfortable in that respect as I can. Your adopted son, Mr. Brown, has wrote to me, very properly, "that he shall always think it his duty to stand by and assist you to the utmost of his power." He is yet young; but I hope he has solidity enough to conduct a printing-house with prudence and to advantage. I shall, therefore, put one into his hands, to be carried on in partnership with you; and if he manages well, I shall hereafter farther encourage him. I have not time to write to him now, but shall by the packet. I have, however, desired my wife to deliver to you and him the press and letters that were B. Mecom's, which Mr. Parker used at Burlington; and to let you go into the house where I suppose they are, as the rent of that you are now in is heavy. I can now only add that I am, as ever,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXXII.

TO CHARLES THOMSON.

LONDON, 27 September, 1766.

DEAR FRIEND AND NEIGHBOUR:

I received your very kind letter of May 20th, which came here while I was absent in Germany. The favorable sentiments you express of my conduct, with

regard to the repeal of the Stamp Act, give me real pleasure; and I hope, in every other matter of public concern, so to behave myself as to stand fair in the opinion of the wise and good, and what the rest think and say of me will then give me less concern.

That part of your letter which relates to the situation of people's minds in America before and after the repeal, was so well expressed, and in my opinion so proper to be generally read and understood here, that I had it printed in the *London Chronicle.* I had the pleasure to find, that it did good in several instances within my knowledge.

There are claimers enough of merit in obtaining the repeal. But, if I live to see you, I will let you know what an escape we had in the beginning of the affair, and how much we were obliged to what the profane would call *luck*, and the pious, *Providence.*

You will give an old man leave to say, "My love to Mrs. Thomson." With sincere regard, I am your affectionate friend, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXXIII.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LONDON, 11 October, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD:—I received your kind little letter of August 26th, by the packet. Scarce any one else wrote to me by that opportunity. I suppose they imagined I should not be returned from Germany. Pray did you ever get the letters and cambric I sent you by Mr. Yates? You told me he had lost them,

but hoped to find them again. You do not say in any of your subsequent letters whether he found them, or whether our generous adversaries have got them, and keep them for their own amusement, as you know they did some of my former letters. I wish you would always mention the dates of the letters you receive from me; for then, as I generally keep copies, I should know what get to hand, and what miscarry.

I grieve for the loss of dear Miss Ross. She was indeed an amiable girl. It must be a great affliction to her parents and friends. In my last I desired you to get Mr. Rhoads to send me a little sketch of the lot and wall; but I have since found one he sent me before; so it is not necessary; only tell me whether it takes in part of the late controverted lot, and how high it comes on both sides, and whereabouts the wall is. By the way, you never have told me what the award was. I wish I could see a copy of it.

There are but two Franklins remaining in England, descended from my grandfather; to wit, my uncle John's grandson, Thomas Franklin, who is a dyer at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, and has a daughter about thirteen years of age, named Sally. He brought her to town to see me in the spring, and Mrs. Stevenson persuaded him to leave the child under her care for a little schooling and improvement while I went abroad. When I returned, I found her indeed much improved, and grown a fine girl. She is sensible, and of a sweet, obliging temper, but is now ill of a violent fever, and I doubt we shall lose her,

which particularly afflicts Mrs. Stevenson, not only as she has contracted a great affection for the child, but as it was she that persuaded her father to leave her here. Mrs. Stevenson presents her best respects. Polly is gone home to her aunt's at Kensington. My love to our children and all inquiring friends. I am your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

## CCLXXXIV.

### REMARKS ON A PLAN FOR THE FUTURE MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.[1]

The regulations in this Plan seem to me to be in general very good; but some few appear to want explanation, or farther consideration.

*Clause* 3. Is it intended by this clause to prevent the trade that Indians, living near the frontiers, may choose to carry on with the inhabitants, by bringing their skins into the settlements? This prevention is hardly practicable; as such trade may be carried on in many places out of the observation of government, the frontier being of great extent, and the inhabi-

[1] The Plan remarked upon was under the consideration of the ministry before the close of the year 1766, and, as I am inclined to think, after the commencement of 1765. I can go no nearer as to its date. It is needless to enter into the particulars of it, as the Remarks explain themselves; except perhaps as to the following points:

The trade was to be open; there were to be two superintendents to it; in the northern district, the trade was to be carried on at fixed posts; in the southern, within the Indian towns; the military were to have no power over the superintendents or the Indian trade, even in war times, unless with the superintendents' assent, or in great exigencies; the superintendents, by themselves or deputies, were to make annual visitations among the Indians, and their proceedings were to be very summary; and no credit was to be given to the Indians beyond fifty shillings, for no higher debt was to be made recoverable.—B. V.

tants thinly settled in the woods, and remote from each other. The Indians, too, do not everywhere live in towns sufficiently numerous to encourage traders to reside among them; but in scattered families, here and there, often shifting their situation for the sake of better hunting; and if they are near the English settlements, it would seem to them very hard to be obliged to carry their skins for sale to remote towns or posts, when they could dispose of them to their neighbours, with less trouble and to greater advantage; as the goods they want for them, are and must be dearer at such remote posts.

4. The colony "laws for regulating Indian affairs or commerce" are the result of long experience, made by people on the spot, interested to make them good; and it would be well to consider the matter thoroughly, before they are repealed, to make way for new and untried schemes.

By whom are they to be repealed? By the colony assemblies, or by Parliament? Some difficulty will arise here.

13. The districts seem too large for this. The Indians under the care of the northern superintendent, by this plan, border on the colonies of Nova Scotia, Quebec, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia; the superintendent's situation, remote from many of these, may occasion great inconvenience, if his consent is always to be necessary in such cases.

14. This seems too much to be done, when the vast-

ness of the district is considered. If there were more districts and smaller, it might be more practicable.

15 *and* 16. Are these agents or commissaries to try causes where life is concerned? Would it not be better to send the criminals into some civil, well-settled government or colony, for trial, where good juries can be had?

18. "Chief for the whole tribe; who shall constantly reside with the commissary," &c. Provision must then be made for his maintenance, as particular Indians have no estates, but live by hunting; and their public has no funds or revenues. Being used to rambling, it would perhaps not be easy to find one, who would be obliged to this constant residence; but it may be tried.

22. If the agent and his deputies, and the commissaries, are not to trade, should it not be a part of their oath, that they will have no concern in such trade, directly or indirectly? Private agreements between them and the traders, for share of profits, should be guarded against; and the same care taken to prevent, if possible, private agreements between them and the purchasers of Indian lands.

31. —— "or trading at any other post," &c. This should be so expressed as to make the master liable for the offence of the servant; otherwise it will have no effect.

33. I doubt the settling of tariffs will be a matter of difficulty. There may be differences of fineness, goodness, and value, in the goods of different traders, that cannot be properly allowed for by general tar-

iffs. And it seems contrary to the nature of commerce, for government to interfere in the prices of commodities. Trade is a voluntary thing between buyer and seller; in every article of which each exercises his own judgment, and is to please himself. Suppose either Indian or trader is dissatisfied with the tariff, and refuses barter on those terms; are the refusers to be compelled? If not, why should an Indian be forbidden to take more goods for his skins than your tariff allows, if the trader is willing to give them; or a trader more skins for his goods, if the Indian is willing to give them? Where there are a number of traders, the separate desire of each to get more custom will operate in bringing down their goods to a reasonable price. It therefore seems to me, that trade will best find and make its own rates; and that government cannot well interfere, unless it will take the whole trade into its own hands (as in some colonies it does), and manage it by its own servants, at its own risk.

38. I apprehend that if the Indians cannot get rum of fair traders, it will be a great means of defeating all these regulations that direct the trade to be carried on at certain posts. The countries and forests are so very large, it is scarce possible to guard every part, so as to prevent unlicensed traders drawing the Indians and the trade to themselves, by rum and other spirituous liquors, which all savage people are so fond of. I think they will generally trade where they can get rum, preferably to where it is refused them; and the proposed prohibition will therefore be

a great encouragement to unlicensed traders, and promote such trade. If the commissaries, or officers at the posts, can prevent the selling of rum during the barter for other goods, and until the Indians are about going away, it is perhaps all that is practicable or necessary. The missionaries will, among other things, endeavour to prevail with them to live soberly and avoid drunkenness.

39. The Indian trade, so far as credit is concerned, has hitherto been carried on wholly upon honor. They have among themselves no such thing as prisons or confinement for debt. This article seems to imply, that an Indian may be compelled by law to pay a debt of fifty shillings or under. Our legal method of compulsion is by imprisonment. The Indians cannot and will not imprison one another; and, if we attempt to imprison them, I apprehend it would be generally disliked by the nations, and occasion breaches. They have such high ideas of the value of personal liberty, and such slight ones of the value of personal property, that they would think the disproportion monstrous between the liberty of a man and a debt of a few shillings; and that it would be excessively inequitable and unjust, to take away the one for a default in payment of the other. It seems to me, therefore, best to leave that matter on its present footing; the debts under fifty shillings as irrecoverable by law, as this article proposes for the debts above fifty shillings. Debts of honor are generally as well paid as other debts. Where no compulsion can be used, it is more disgraceful to be

dishonest. If the trader thinks his risk greater in trusting any particular Indian, he will either not do it, or proportion his price to his risk.

44. As the goods for the Indian trade all come from England, and the peltry is chiefly brought to England, perhaps it will be best to lay the duty here on the exportation of the one and the importation of the other, to avoid meddling with the question of the right to lay duties in America by Parliament here.

If it is thought proper to carry the trading part of this plan into execution, would it not be well to try it first in a few posts, to which the present colony laws for regulating the Indian trade do not reach; that by experience its utility may be ascertained, or its defects discovered and amended before it is made general, and those laws repealed to make way for it? If the Indians find by experience that they are better used in their trade at the posts under these regulations than at other places, may it not make them desirous of having the regulations extended to other places, and when extended better satisfied with them upon reflection and comparison?

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## CCLXXXV.

### HINTS FOR A REPLY TO THE PROTESTS OF CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT.

The following "HINTS" were found in the margin of Dr. Franklin's printed copy of the *protests* written at the time (1766), from which it would appear that it was his intention to make a

formal answer to these Protests. This purpose does not yet appear to have been executed.—EDITOR.

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## *First Protest.*

We have submitted to your laws; no proof of our acknowledgment of your power to make them; rather an acknowledgment of their reasonableness, or of our own weakness. Post-office came as a matter of utility; was aided by the legislature. Mean to take advantage of our ignorance. Children should not be imposed on; are not, even by honest shopkeepers. A great and magnanimous nation should disdain to govern by tricks and traps, that would disgrace a pettifogging attorney.

Settlement of the colonies stated. Parliament not consulted; not till after the Restoration, except by rebel Parliament. Anxious about preserving the sovereignty of this country? Rather be so about preserving the liberty. We shall be so about the liberty of America, that your posterity may have a free country to come to, where they will be received with open arms.

King, the sovereign, cannot take in his Parliament; at least, can give no greater power than he had himself.

Compliment the Lords. Not a wiser or better body of men on earth. The deep respect impressed on me by the instance I have been witness to of their justice. They have been misled by misinformation. Proof of my opinion of their goodness, in the freedom with which I propose to examine their Protests.

The trust of taxing America was never reposed by the people of America in the legislature of Great Britain. They had one kind of confidence, indeed, in that legislature; that it would never attempt to tax them without their consent. The law was destructive of that confidence among them.

Other advantages of colonies besides commerce. Selfishness of commercial views.

The sovereignty of the crown I understand. The sovereignty of the British legislature out of Britain I do not understand.

The *fear* of being *thought weak* is a timidity and weakness of the worst sort, as it betrays into a persisting in errors that may be much more mischievous than the appearance of weakness. A great and powerful state like this has no cause for such timidity.

Acknowledging and correcting an error shows great magnanimity. Small states and small republics cannot afford to do so.

America not in the realm of England or Great Britain? No man in America thinks himself exempt from the jurisdiction of the crown, and of the assemblies, or has any such private judgment.

The agitation of the question of rights makes it now necessary to settle a constitution for the colonies. Restrictions should be only for the general good. Endeavour to convince reasonable creatures by reason. Try your hands with me.

Never think of it. They are reasonable creatures. Reasonable laws will not require force.

I observe two or three Scotch Lords protest. Many

more voted against the repeal. Colonies settled before the union. Query: If the Parliament had a jurisdiction over the colonies by the first settlement, had they a right to introduce new legislators? Could they sell or commute the right with other nations? Can they introduce the Peers of Ireland and Commons, and the States of Holland, and make them legislators of the colonies? How could Scotland acquire a right to legislation over English colonies, but by consent of the colonies themselves?

I am a subject of the crown of Great Britain; have ever been a loyal one; have partaken of its favors. I write here with freedom, relying on the magnanimity of the Parliament. I say nothing to your Lordships, that I have not been indulged to say to the Commons. Your Lordships' names are to your Protest, therefore I think I ought to put mine to the answer. Desire what I have said may not be imputed to the colonies. I am a private person and do not write by their direction. I am over here to solicit, in behalf of my colony, a closer communication with the crown.

*Second Protest.*

Talk with Bollan on this head. Query: Courts of common law? Particular colonies drained; all drained, as it would all come home. Those that would pay most of the tax would have least of it spent at home. It must go to the conquered colonies. The view of maps deceives.

All breach of the constitution. Juries better to be trusted. Have rather an interest in suppressing

smugglers. Nature of smuggling. It is picking of pockets. All oppressions take their rise from some plea of utility; often in appearance only.

The clamor of multitudes. It is good to attend to it. It is wiser to foresee and avoid it. It is wise, when neither foreseen nor avoided, to correct the measures that give occasion to it. Glad the majority have that wisdom.

Wish your Lordships had attended to that other great article of the palladium: "Taxes shall not be laid but by *common consent* in Parliament." We Americans were not here to give our consent.

My duty to the King, and justice to my country, will, I hope, justify me if I likewise *protest*, which I now do with all humility in behalf of myself and of every American, and of our posterity, against your declaratory bill, that the Parliament of Great Britain has not, never had, and of right never can have, without consent given either before or after, power to make laws of sufficient force to bind the subjects in America in any case whatever, and particularly in taxation.

I can only judge of others by myself. I have some little property in America. I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the pound to defend my right of giving or refusing the other shilling, and, after all, if I cannot defend that right, I can retire cheerfully with my little family into the boundless woods of America, which are sure to afford freedom and subsistence to any man who can bait a hook or pull a trigger.

# CCLXXXVI.

## OBSERVATIONS

### ON PASSAGES IN "A LETTER FROM A MERCHANT IN LONDON TO HIS NEPHEW IN NORTH AMERICA."

LONDON, 1766.[1]

*Extract.* "The honest indignation you express against those artifices and frauds, those robberies and insults, which lost us the hearts and affections of the Indians, is particularly to be commended; for these were the things, as you justly observed, which involved us in the most bloody and expensive war that ever was known."

*Observation.* This is wickedly intended by the author, Dean Tucker, to represent the North Americans as the cause of the war. Whereas it was in fact begun by the French, who seized the goods and persons of the English traders on the Ohio who encroached on the King's land in Nova Scotia, and took a fort from the Ohio Company by force of arms, which induced England to make reprisals at sea, and to send Braddock to recover the fort on the Ohio, whence came on the war.

"By the spirit of *Magna Charta* all taxes laid on by Parliament are constitutional, legal taxes."

"But then it is to be further observed that this same method of arguing is equally favorable to governors as governed, and to the mother country as the colonies."

Here is the old mistake of all these writers. The people of the mother country are subjects, not

[1] Marginal notes in Franklin's pamphlets. See above, p. 529.

governors. The King only is sovereign in both countries.

"The colonies will no longer think it equitable to insist upon immunities which the people of Great Britain do not enjoy."

Why not, if they have a right to them?

"To claim a right of being taxed by their assemblies only, appears to have too much the air of independence, and though they are not represented here, would give them an immunity beyond the inhabitants of this island."

It is a right, however; what signifies what *air* it has? The inhabitants being freeholders ought to have the same. If they have it not, they are injured. Then rectify what is amiss among yourselves; and do not make it a justification of more wrong.

"Or could they hope to procure any advantages from one hundred representatives? Common sense answers all this in the negative."

Why not, as well as Scotland from forty-five, or rather sixty-one? Common sense, on the contrary, says, that a body of one hundred votes in Parliament will always be worth the attention of any ministry; and the fear of offending them will make every minister cautious of injuring the rights of their country, lest they join with his opposers in Parliament.

"Therefore the interest of Great Britain and that of the colonies is the same."

All this argument of the interest of Britain and the colonies being the *same* is fallacious and unsatisfactory. Partners in trade have a *common* interest, which

is the same, the flourishing of the partnership business; but they may, moreover, have each a *separate* interest, and, in pursuit of that *separate* interest, one of them may endeavour to impose on the other, may cheat him in the accounts, may draw to himself more than his share of the profits, may put upon the other more than an equal share of the expense and burden. Their having a common interest is no security against such injustice. The landholders of Great Britain have a common interest, and yet they injure one another in the inequality of the land tax. The majority in Parliament, being favored in the proportions, will never consent to do justice to the minority by a more equal assessment.

"But what reasonable ground of apprehension can there be, that the British Parliament should be ignorant of so plain a matter, as that the interests of Britain and the colonies are the same?"

If the Parliament is so knowing and so just, how comes it to restrain Ireland in its manufactures, America in its trade? Why may not an Irishman or an American make the same manufactures, and carry them to the same ports, as an Englishman? In many instances Britain shows a selfish regard to her own interest, in prejudice to the colonies. America, therefore, has no confidence in her equity.

"But I can conceive no earthly security better, none indeed so good, as that which depends upon the wisdom and integrity of a British King and Parliament."

Suppose seats in your House of Commons heredi-

tary, as those of the House of Lords; or suppose the Commons to be nominated by the King, or chosen by the Lords; could you then rely upon them? If your members were to be chosen by the people of Ireland, could you then rely upon them? Could you depend upon their wisdom and integrity as a security, the best possible, for your rights? And wherein is our case different, if the people of England choose legislators for the people of America?

"If they have a spark of virtue left, they will blush to be found in a posture of hostility against Great Britain."

There was no posture of hostility in America, but Britain put herself in a posture of hostility against America. Witness the landing of the troops in Boston, 1768.

## CCLXXXVII.

### OBSERVATIONS

ON PASSAGES IN A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "GOOD HUMOR, OR AWAY WITH THE COLONIES."[1]

*Extract.* "The reply of the governor of Massachusetts to the assembly's answer is in the same consistent style; and affords still a stronger proof, as well of his own ingenuity, honor, and integrity, as of the furious and enthusiastic spirit of the province."

*Observation.* They knew the governor to be, as it

[1] The passages included within quotation marks are extracts from the pamphlet, and the sentence following each contains Dr. Franklin's observations, which were copied from Franklin's pamphlets. See above, p. 529.

afterwards turned out, their enemy and calumniator in private letters to government here.

"It had been more becoming the state of the colonies, always dear to Britain, and ever cherished and defended by it, to have remonstrated in terms of filial duty and obedience."

How ignorant is this writer of facts! How many of their remonstrances were rejected!

"They must give us leave, in our turn, to except against their demonstration of legal exemption."

There never was any occasion of legal exemption from what they never had been subject to.

There is no doubt but taxes laid by Parliament, where the Parliament has jurisdiction, are legal taxes; but does it follow that taxes laid by the Parliament of England on Scotland before the union, on Guernsey, Jersey, Ireland, Hanover, or any other dominions of the crown not within the realm, are therefore legal? These writers against the colonies all bewilder themselves by supposing the colonies *within* the realm, which is not the case, nor ever was. This then is the *spirit* of the constitution, that taxes shall not be laid without the consent of those to be taxed. The colonies were not then in being, and therefore nothing relating to them could be *literally* expressed. As the Americans are now *without* the realm, and not of the jurisdiction of Parliament, the spirit of the British constitution dictates that they should be taxed only by *their own* representatives, as the English are by theirs.

"Now the first emigrants who settled in America

were certainly English subjects, subject to the laws and jurisdiction of Parliament, and consequently to parliamentary taxes, before the emigration, and therefore subject afterwards, unless some legal constitutional exemption can be produced."

This position supposes that Englishmen can never be out of the jurisdiction of Parliament. It may as well be said that wherever an Englishman resides, that country is *England.* While an Englishman resides in England, he is undoubtedly subject to its laws. If he goes into a foreign country, he is subject to the laws and government he finds there. If he finds no government or laws there, he is subject there to none, till he and his companions, if he has any, make laws for themselves; and this was the case of the first settlers in America. Otherwise, and if they carried the English laws and power of Parliament with them, what advantage could the Puritans propose to themselves by going, since they would have been as subject to bishops, spiritual courts, tithes, and statutes relating to the church, in America as in England? Can the Dean, on his principles, tell how it happens that those laws, the game acts, the statutes for laborers, and an infinity of others, made before and since the emigration, are not in force in America, nor ever were?

"Now, upon the first settling of an English colony, and before ever you Americans could have chosen any representatives, and therefore before any assembly of such representatives could have possibly met, to whose laws and to what legislative power were you

then subject? To the English, most undoubtedly; for you could have been subject to no other."

The author here appears quite ignorant of the fact. The colonies carried no law with them; they carried only a power of making laws, or adopting such parts of the English law, or of any other law, as they should think suitable to their circumstances. The first settlers of Connecticut, for instance, at their first meeting in that country, finding themselves out of all jurisdiction of other governments, resolved and enacted, that, till a code of laws should be prepared and agreed to, they would be governed by *the law of Moses*, as contained in the Old Testament.

If the first settlers had no right to expect a better constitution than the English, what fools were they for going over, to encounter all the hardships and perils of new settlements in a wilderness! For these were so many additions to what they suffered at home, from tyrannical and oppressive institutions in church and state; with a subtraction of all their old enjoyments of the conveniences and comforts of an old-settled country, friends, neighbours, relations, and homes.

"Suppose, therefore, that the crown had been so ill advised as to have granted a charter to any city or county here in England, pretending to exempt them from *the power and jurisdiction of an English Parliament.* Is it possible for you to believe an absurdity so gross and glaring?"

The American settlers *needed no exemption* from the power of Parliament; they were necessarily ex-

empted, as soon as they landed out of its jurisdiction. Therefore, all this rhetorical paragraph is founded on a mistake of the author, and the absurdity he talks of is of his own making.

"Good heavens! What a sudden alteration is this! An American pleading for the extension of the prerogative of the crown! Yes, if it could make for his cause; and for extending it, too, beyond all the bounds of law, of reason, and of common sense!"

What stuff! Why may not an American plead for the just prerogatives of the crown? And is it not a just prerogative of the crown to give the subjects leave to settle in a foreign country, if they think it necessary to ask such leave? Was the Parliament at all considered, or consulted, in making those first settlements? Or did any lawyer then think it necessary?

"Now this clause, which is nothing more than the renunciation of absolute prerogative, is quoted in our newspapers as if it was a renunciation of the rights of Parliament to raise taxes."

It was not a renunciation of the rights of Parliament. There was no need of such a renunciation, for Parliament had not even pretended to such a right. But since the royal faith was pledged by the King for himself and his successors, how can any succeeding King, without violating that faith, ever give his assent to an act of Parliament for such taxation?

"Nay, many of your colony charters assert quite the contrary, by containing the express reservations of parliamentary rights, particularly that great one of levying taxes."

A fib, Mr. Dean. In one charter *only*, and that a late one, is the Parliament mentioned; and the right reserved is only that of laying duties on commodities imported into England from the colony, or exported to it.

"And those charters, which do not make such provisions in express terms, must be supposed virtually to imply them; because the law and constitution will not allow that the King can do more, either at home or abroad, by the prerogative royal, than the law and constitution authorize him to do."

*Suppositions* and *implications* will not weigh in these important cases. No law or constitution forbade the King's doing what he did in granting those charters.

"Confuted, most undoubtedly, you are beyond the possibility of a reply, as far as the law and constitution of the realm are concerned in this question."

This is hallooing before you are out of the wood.

"Strange, that though the British Parliament has been, from the beginning, thus unreasonable, thus unjust and cruel towards you, by levying taxes on many commodities outwards and inwards"—

False! Never before the Restoration. The Parliament, it is acknowledged, have made many oppressive laws relating to America, which have passed without opposition, partly through the weakness of the colonies, partly through the inattention to the full extent of their rights, while employed in labor to procure the necessaries of life. But that is a wicked guardian, and a shameless one, who first takes ad-

vantage of the weakness incident to minority, cheats and imposes on his pupil, and, when the pupil comes of age, urges those very impositions as precedents to justify continuing them and adding others.

"But surely you will not dare to say that we refuse your votes when you come hither to offer them, and choose to poll. You cannot have the face to assert, on an election-day any difference is put between the vote of a man born in America and of one born here in England."

This is all banter and insult, when you know the impossibility of a million of freeholders coming over sea to vote here. If their freeholds in America are within the realm, why have they not, in virtue of these freeholds, a right to vote in your elections, as well as an English freeholder? Sometimes we are told, that our estates are by our charters all in the manor of East Greenwich, and therefore all in England; and yet have we any right to vote among the voters of East Greenwich? Can we trade to the same ports? In this very paragraph, you suppose that we cannot vote in England, if we come hither, till we have by purchase acquired a right; therefore neither we nor our estates are represented in England.

"The cause of your complaint is this; that you live at too great a distance from the mother country to be present at our English elections; and that, in consequence of this distance, the freedom of our towns, or the freeholds in our counties, as far as voting is concerned, are not worth attending to. It may be so; but pray consider, if you yourselves choose to

make it inconvenient for you to come and vote, by retiring into distant countries, what is that to us?"

This is all beside the mark. The Americans are by their constitutions provided with a representation, and therefore neither need nor desire any in the British Parliament. They have never asked any such thing. They only say: Since we have a right to grant our own money to the King, since we have assemblies where we are represented for such purposes, why will you meddle, out of your sphere, take the money that is ours, and give us yours, without our consent?

"Yes, it is, and you demand it too with a loud voice, full of anger, of defiance, and denunciation."

An absolute falsehood! We never demanded in any manner, much less in the manner you mention, that the mother country should change her constitution.

"In the great metropolis, and in many other cities, landed property itself hath no representative in Parliament. Copy-holds and lease-holds of various kinds have none likewise, though of ever so great a value."

Copy-holds and lease-holds are supposed to be represented in the original landlord of whom they are held. Thus all the land in England is in fact represented, notwithstanding what he here says. As to those who have no landed property in a county, the allowing them to vote for legislators is an impropriety. They are transient inhabitants, and not so connected with the welfare of the state, which they may quit when they please, as to qualify them properly for such privilege.

"And, besides all this, it is well known that the East India Company, which have such vast settlements, and which dispose of the fate of kings and kingdoms abroad, have not so much as a single member, or even a single vote, *quatenus* a company, to watch over their interests at home. And may not their property, perhaps a little short of one hundred millions sterling, as much deserve to be represented in Parliament, as the scattered townships or straggling houses of some of your provinces in America?"

By this argument it may be proved, that no man in England has a vote. The clergy have none as clergymen; the lawyers, none as lawyers; the physicians, none as physicians; and so on. But if they have votes as freeholders, that is sufficient; and that, no freeholder in America has for a representative in the British Parliament. The stockholders are many of them foreigners, and all may be so when they please, as nothing is more easy than the transferring of stock and conveying property beyond sea by bills of exchange. Such uncertain subjects are, therefore, not properly vested with rights relating to government.

"Yet we raise no commotions; we neither ring the alarm-bell, nor sound the trumpet, and submit to be taxed without being represented; and taxed, let me tell you, for your sakes. All was granted when you cried for help."

This is wickedly false. While the colonies were weak and poor, not a penny or a single soldier was ever spared by Britain for their defence. But as soon as the trade with them became an object, and a fear

arose, that the French would seize that trade and deprive her of it, she sent troops to America *unasked.* And she now brings this account of the expense against us, which should be rather carried to her own merchants and manufacturers. We joined our troops and treasure with hers to help her in this war. Of this no notice is taken. To refuse to pay a just debt is knavish ; not to return an obligation is ingratitude ; but to demand payment of a debt where none has been contracted, to forge a bond or an obligation in order to demand what was never due, is villany. Every year both King and Parliament, during the war, acknowledged that we had done more than our part, and made us some return, which is equivalent to a receipt in full, and entirely sets aside this monstrous claim.

By all means redress your own grievances. If you are not just to your own people, how can we trust you? We ask no representation among you ; but, if you have any thing wrong among yourselves, rectify it, and do not make one injustice a precedent and plea for doing another. That would be increasing evil in the world instead of diminishing it.

You need not be concerned about the number to be added from America. We do not desire to come among you ; but you may make some room for your own additional members, by removing those that are sent by the rotten boroughs.

"I must now tell you, that every member of Parliament represents you and me, and our interests in all essential points, just as much as if we had voted for him. For, although one place or one set of men may

elect and send him up to Parliament, yet, when once he becomes a member, he is the equal guardian of all."

In the same manner, Mr. Dean, are the Pope and Cardinals representatives of the whole Christian church. Why don't you obey them?

"This, then, being the case, it therefore follows, that our Birminghams, Manchesters, Leedses, Halifaxes, &c., and your Bostons, New Yorks, and Philadelphias, are as really, though not so nominally, represented, as any part whatsoever of the British empire; and that each of these places has in fact, instead of one or two, not less than five hundred and fifty-eight guardians in the British Senate."

What occasion is there then, my dear Sir, of being at the trouble of election? The Peers alone would do as well for our guardians, though chosen by the King, or born such. If their present number is too small, his Majesty may be good enough to add five hundred and fifty-eight, or make the present House of Commons and their heirs-male Peers for ever. If having a vote in elections would be of no use to us, how is it of any to you? Elections are the cause of much tumult, riot, contention, and mischief. Get rid of them at once and for ever.

"It proves that no man ought to pay any tax, but that only to which the member of his own town, city, or county hath particularly assented."

You seem to take your nephew for a simpleton, Mr. Dean. Every one who votes for a representative knows and intends that the majority is to gov-

ern, and that the consent of the majority is to be understood as the consent of the whole; that being ever the case in all deliberative assemblies.

"The doctrine of implication is the very thing to which you object, and against which you have raised so many batteries of popular noise and clamor."

How far, my dear Sir, would you yourself carry the doctrine of implication? If important positions are to be implied when not expressed, I suppose you can have no objection to their being implied where some expression countenances the implication. If you should say to a friend, "I am your humble servant, Sir," ought he to imply from thence, that you will clean his shoes?

"And consequently you must maintain, that all those in your several provinces, who have no votes," &c.

No freeholder in North America is without a vote. Many, who have no freeholds, have nevertheless a vote; *which, indeed, I don't think was necessary to be allowed.*

"You have your choice, whether you will accept of my price for your tobacco; or, after bringing it here, whether you will carry it away, and try your fortune at another market."

A great kindness this, to oblige me first to bring it here, that the expense of another voyage and freight may deter me from carrying it away, and oblige me to take the price you are pleased to offer.

"But I have no alternative allowed, being obliged to buy yours at your own price, or else to pay such a duty for the tobacco of other countries as must

amount to a prohibition. Nay, in order to favor your plantations, I am not permitted to plant this herb on my own estate, though the soil should be ever so proper for it."

You lay a duty on the tobacco of other countries, because you must pay money for that, but get ours in exchange for your manufactures.

Tobacco is not permitted to be planted in England, lest it should interfere with corn necessary for your subsistence. Rice you cannot raise. It requires eleven months. Your summer is too short. Nature, not the laws, denies you this product.

"And what will you say in relation to hemp? The Parliament now gives you a bounty of eight pounds per ton for exporting your hemp from North America, but will allow me nothing for growing it here in England."

Did ever any North-American bring his hemp to England for this bounty? We have not yet enough for our own consumption. We begin to make our own cordage. You want to suppress that manufacture, and would do it by getting the raw material from us. You want to be supplied with hemp for your manufactures and Russia demands money. These were the motives for giving what you are pleased to call a *bounty* to us. We thank you for your bounties. We love you, and therefore must be obliged to you for being good to yourselves. You do not encourage raising hemp in England, because you know it impoverishes the richest grounds; your landholders are all against it. What you call bounties given by Parliament and the Society, are nothing

more than inducements offered us, to persuade us to leave employments that are more profitable, and engage in such as would be less so without your bounty; to quit a business profitable to ourselves, and engage in one that shall be profitable to you. This is the true spirit of all your bounties.

Your duties on foreign articles are from the same motives. Pitch, tar, and turpentine used to cost you five pounds a barrel, when you had them from foreigners, who used you ill into the bargain, thinking you could not do without them. You gave a bounty of five shillings a barrel to the colonies, and they have brought you such plenty as to reduce the price to ten shillings a barrel. Take back your bounties, when you please, since you upbraid us with them. Buy your indigo, pitch, silk, and tobacco where you please, and let us buy our manufactures where we please. I fancy we shall be gainers. As to the great kindness of these five hundred and fifty-eight parliamentary guardians of American privileges, who can forbear smiling, that has seen the Navigation Act, the Hatters' Act, the Steel-Hammer and Slit-Iron Act, and numberless others, restraining our trade, obstructing our manufactures, and forbidding us the use of the gifts of God and nature. Hopeful guardians, truly! Can it be imagined that, if we had a reasonable share in electing them from time to time, they would thus have used us?

"And must have seen abundant reason before this time, to have altered your former hasty and rash opinion."

We see in you abundance of self-conceit, but no convincing argument.

"Have you no concerts or assemblies, no play-houses or gaming-houses, now subsisting? Have you put down your horse-races and other such like sports and diversions? And is the luxury of your tables, and the variety and profusion of your wines and liquors, quite banished from among you"?

This should be a caution to Americans how they indulge for the future in British luxuries. See here British generosity! The people, who have made you poor by their worthless, I mean useless, commodities, would now make you poorer by taxing you; and from the very inability you have brought on yourselves, by a partiality for their fashions and modes of living, of which they have had the whole profit, would now urge your ability to pay the taxes they are pleased to impose. Reject, then, their commerce, as well as their pretended power of taxing. Be frugal and industrious, and you will be free. The luxury of your tables, which could be known to the English only by your hospitably entertaining them, is by these grateful guests now made a charge against you, and given as a reason for taxing you.

"Be it also allowed, as it is commonly asserted, that the public debt of the several provinces amounts to eight hundred thousand pounds sterling."

I have heard, Mr. Dean, that you have studied political arithmetic more than divinity, but from this sample of it I fear to very little purpose. If personal service were the matter in question, out of so many

millions of souls so many men might be expected, whether here or in America. But when raising money is the question, it is not the number of souls, but the wealth in possession that shows the ability. If we were twice as numerous as the people of England, it would not follow that we are half as able. There are numbers of single estates in England, each worth a hundred of the best of ours in North America. The city of London alone is worth all the provinces of North America.

"When each of us pays, one with another, twenty shillings per head, we expect that each of you should pay the sum of one shilling! Blush, blush, for shame at your perverse and scandalous behaviour!"

Blush for shame at your own ignorance, Mr. Dean, who do not know that the colonies have taxes, and heavy ones, of their own to pay, to support their own civil and military establishments, and that the shillings should not be reckoned upon heads, but upon pounds. There never was a sillier argument.

"Witness our county taxes, militia taxes, poor taxes, vagrant taxes, bridge taxes, high-road and turnpike taxes, watch taxes, lamp and scavenger taxes, &c., &c., &c."

And have we not all these taxes, too, as well as you, and our provincial or public taxes besides? And over and above, have we not new roads to make, new bridges to build, churches and colleges to found, and a number of other things to do that your fathers have done for you, and which you inherit from them, but which we are obliged to pay for out of our present labor?

"We require of you to contribute only one shilling to every twenty from each of us. Yes, and this shilling, too, to be spent in your own country for the support of your own civil and military establishments."

How fond he is of this one shilling and twenty. Who has desired this of you, and who can trust you to lay it out? If you are thus to provide for our civil and military establishments, what use will there afterwards be for our assemblies?

"And yet, small and inconsiderable as this share is, you will not pay it. No, you will not! and it is at your peril if we demand it."

No! we will pay nothing on compulsion.

"For how, and in what manner, do you prove your allegations? Why, truly, by breaking forth into riots and insurrections, and by committing every kind of violence that can cause trade to stagnate, and industry to cease."

The Americans never brought riots as arguments. It is unjust to charge two or three riots in particular places upon all America. Look for arguments in the petitions and remonstrances of the *assemblies*, who detest riots, of which there are ten in England for one in America.

"Perhaps you meant to insinuate (though it was prudence in you not to speak out) that the late act was ill-contrived and ill-timed, because it was made at a juncture when neither the French were in your rear to frighten, nor the English fleets and armies on your front to force, you to a compliance."

It seems a prevailing opinion in England, that fear

of their French neighbours would have kept the colonies in obedience to the Parliament, and that, if the French power had not been subdued, no opposition would have been made to the Stamp Act. A very groundless notion. On the contrary, had the French power continued, to which the Americans might have had recourse in the case of oppression from Parliament, Parliament would not have dared to oppress them. It was the employment of fifty thousand men by land, and a fleet on the coast, for five years, to subdue the French only. Half the land army was provincial. Suppose the British twenty-five thousand had acted by themselves, with all the colonies against them, what time would it have taken to subdue the whole?

"Or shall we give you entirely up, unless you will submit to be governed by the same laws as we are, and pay something towards maintaining yourselves?"

The impudence of this language to colonies who have *ever* maintained themselves, is astonishing! Except the *late attempted* colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, no colony ever received maintenance in any shape from Britain; and the grants to those colonies were mere jobs for the benefit of ministerial favorites, *English* or *Scotchmen.*

"Whether we are to give you entirely up, and, after having obliged you to pay your debts, whether we are to have no further connexion with you as a dependent state or colony"—

Throughout all America English debts are more easily recovered than in England, the process being shorter and less expensive, and land subject to exe-

cution for the payment of debts. Evidence, taken *ex parte* in England, to prove a debt, is allowed in their courts, and during the whole dispute there was *not one single instance* of any English merchant's meeting with the least obstruction in any process or suit commenced there for that purpose.

"Externally, by being severed from the British empire, you will be excluded from cutting logwood in the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, on the coast of Labrador, or in the bay of St. Lawrence, &c."

We have no use for logwood, but to remit it for your refineries. We joined in conquering the Bay of St. Lawrence and its dependencies. As to the Sugar Islands, if you won't allow us to trade with them, perhaps you will allow them to trade with us; or do you intend to starve them? Pray keep your bounties, and let us hear no more of them; and your troops, who never protected us against the savages, nor are fit for such a service; and the three hundred thousand pounds, which you seem to think so much clear profit to us, when, in fact, they never spend a penny among us, but they have for it from us a penny's worth. The manufactures they buy are bought from you; the provisions we could, as we always did, sell elsewhere for as much money. Holland, France, and Spain would all be glad of our custom, and pleased to see the separation.

"And, after all, and in spite of any thing you can do, we in Britain shall still retain the greatest part of your European trade, because we shall give a better

price for many of your commodities than you can have anywhere else, and we shall sell to you several of our manufactures, especially in the woollen-stuff and metal way, on cheaper terms."

Oho! Then you will still trade with us! But can that be without our trading with you? And how can you buy our oil, if we catch no whales?

"The leaders of your party will then be setting all their engines to work, to make fools become the dupes of fools."

Just as they do in England.

"And instead of having troops to defend them, and those troops paid by Great Britain, they must defend themselves, and pay themselves."

To defend them! To oppress, insult, and murder them, as at Boston?

"Not to mention that the expenses of your civil governments will be necessarily increased; and that a fleet more or less must belong to each province for guarding their coasts, ensuring the payment of duties, and the like."

These evils are all imaginations of the author. The same were predicted to the Netherlands, but have never yet happened. But suppose all of them together, and many more, it would be better to bear them than submit to parliamentary taxation. We might still have something we could call our own. But, under the power claimed by Parliament, we have not a single sixpence.

The author of this pamphlet, Dean Tucker, has always been haunted with the fear of the seat of gov-

ernment being soon to be removed to America. He has, in his Tracts on Commerce, some just notions in matters of trade and police, mixed with many wild and chimerical fancies totally impracticable. He once proposed, as a defence of the colonies, to clear the woods for the width of a mile all along behind them, that the Indians might not be able to cross the cleared part without being seen ; forgetting that there is a night in every twenty-four hours.

## CCLXXXVIII.

FROM WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

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It is now generally said to be Debert, & not Ray, who wrote that scandalous Aspersion of the Agents, presented in the New York & other Papers.

I really think it not at all unlikely that Mr. Allen is in some Degree out of his Senses. Upon finding that Williamson's *Essay*, published in Bradford's Supplement, did not take with the People, he cried out against it in the House as much as any Body. And yet at the last Session, when the Assembly were about appointing their Agents, he made that Piece the Foundation of a great deal of Abuse he threw out against you, & spoke from it as if it had been his Brief.

I have heard nothing further about Mr. Skinner, but perhaps I may now the Duke of Grafton is again in the Ministry.

I long to have your copy of the Examination.

Our friends have been a considerable Time greatly distressed with Mr. Hall,[1] but his late conduct to Mr. Galloway has determined them to throw him off entirely. I have been above a year fully convinced that he had a greater Attachment

[1] Franklin's old partner in the printing business.

to Mr. Allen than to you; and he treated me very insolently in a Letter he wrote to me on a supposition that I was the Author of Jack Retor. I have ever since dropt all kind of Intercourse with him. I wrote you a Letter at the Time, with a full Account of the whole Affair, but as I thought it would not be long before you return'd I did not send it, thinking it best not to trouble you till your Return, when you would have an opportunity of hearing both sides & enquiring into the Truth of the accusations against him. I really had a Friendship for Mr. Hall and have frequently endeavor'd to remove the Prejudices our Friends had conceived against him, but I am now quite satisfied that he has no Friendship for you, & is as great an Enemy to your side of the Question as ever Smith was. All the Difference is that Smith is so openly, & the other covertly—a mere Snake in the Grass. The Consequence is that your Friends (who would have set up a Press above a year ago, but that they did not know but you might chuse to be concerned in the Printing Business on your Return) have at length engaged Goddard, who served his Apprenticeship with Mr. Parker, to get up a Printing Office in Philad[a] & publish a Newspaper. Mr. Galloway, & Mr. Thos. Wharton, for his encouragement have entered into Partnership with him & have agreed to advance what Money may be necessary. But as their Motive for doing this is not merely for the Sake of Profit, but principally to have a Press henceforth as open & safe to them, as Hall's & Bradford's are to the other Party, they have put it into their Agreement as I understand, that when you return you shall have it in your Power to be concern'd, if you chuse it, in the place of one of them. The young man has brought several good Founts of Letters with him, but his Press he was obliged to leave with his Mother, who carries on the Business at Providence. They therefore desired me to ask my Mother to lend them the old Press which Parker used here, & they would either buy it of you, or pay you what you thought reasonable for the Hire. My Mother told me

she had no objection to my letting them have it, but she did not chuse to do it of herself, lest Mr. Hall might be displeased with her for it. At the same Time she said she should be glad that the Printer would take the old House in which it was, as it stood empty & had not brought in any Rent for a great while. I accordingly let them have the Press, & they have agreed with my Mother to take your old House in Market Street. There is a new Mahogany Press there, which they seem Desirous to purchase if you incline to part with it, but I suppose they will write to you on the subject. What I have done is for the best, & I hope it will prove agreeable to you. There is, indeed, really a Necessity for their having a Press of their own, while their publick Affairs continue in their present critical situation, for it is with great difficulty they can get Hall or Bradford to consent to print any thing for them, & when they do, some of the Prop^ry Party are sure to have it communicated to them before it is published. Hugh Roberts, and many more of your old Friends, have determined to encourage the new Printer all in their Power, & to go about the several Wards to get subscriptions to the Newspaper. The Members of Assembly will do the same in their respective Counties, & let him have all the Publick Work. So that I am in hopes that by the time you return they will lay the Foundation of a very valuable Business, worth your while to be concerned in, if you should think it proper or convenient. But I am likewise in hopes that when you do return you will have something far better worth your Acceptance than that can possibly be made. However, as all Things in this Life are uncertain, it may not perhaps be amiss for you to have it in your Power to engage in this Affair.

I am, Hon^rd Sir,

WM. FRANKLIN.

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5 Dirt or random
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12 In 1766 had population of Rangeland [illegible]
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54 Union of Parliament between [illegible]

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Franklin, Benjamin

The complete works of Benjamin Franklin Including his private as well as his official and scientific correspondence, and numerous letters and documents now for the 1. time print., with many others not included in any former collection also the unmutilated and correct version of his
Bd.: 3

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